MACKINAC

FORMERLY

MICHILIMACKINAC

BY

LT. COL. JOHN R. BAILEY

MI
49-2
RB

32979
SWANN
#1136
001294
2/3

CLX
Hill
nw1/4

149 Lists

At Soo - Nicolet 1634

Fr Jacques Raymbault 1642,
Menard - L. Superior 1660
N. Perrot 1665
Fr. Allouez - La Pointe 1665-8 Green Bay
Detroit settled 1701 - Sieur Cadillac

Pere Menard - Keewenaw 1660
— Allouez, La Pointe 1665
— Dablon - Mackinac 1669
Marquette - Mackinac 1670-1
" - Mississippi - 1673
- Nouvel 1677
- Pierson
Enjaran 1677-8
Hennepin d. 1679
W. La Salle
La Salle - went down Mississippi 1682
Hennepin - up - 1680
d. 1687
La Motan - at Mackinac 1688.

Radisson & Groseilliers do 1658

Great meeting of Sth Isson w. Tribes at Soo - 1671.
Cadillac - 1695-1701

Radisson - Mississippi - 1659?

BAILEY'S OUTLINE MAP
OF
MACKINAC ISLAND, MICHIGAN
SCALE 2 In. To 1 MILE
1/4
1/2
3/4
1
POINTE AU PINS
BEACH
DOUSMAN FARM
FRIENDSHIP'S ALTAR
SCOTT'S CAVE
BOULEVARD
BRITISH LANDING
BRIDGE
Cold Spring
BATTLEFIELD
BRITISH
EARLEY'S FARM HOUSE
BRITISH
1814
BOULEY RD
LESLIE
AVENUE
NATIONAL PARK
CAVE
LANDING
PARK
AVENUE
POINT LOOKOUT
SUGAR LOAF ROCK
OLD WRECK
BEACH
CHIMNEY ROCK
CEMETERIES
Barrison
CUPID'S
LOVER'S
PATHWAY
ROAD
SKULL CAVE
FORT HOLMES
QUARRY 1780
LIME KILN 1780
P. AVENUE
ARCH ROCK
GIANT'S STAIRWAY
FAIRY ARCH
HUBBARDS
ANNEX
LANE
WEST END
Grand Hotel
Spring
Magazine
FORT MACKINAC
EAST END
ROBERTSON'S FOLLY
POINTE DES CEDRES
N
S
LOVER'S LEAP
DEVIL'S KITCHEN
PONTIAC LOOKOUT
INDIAN BURYING GROUND
DISTILLERY 1812
ARNOLD'S WHARFS
ROCK POINT
Franklin Co., Engrs., Chi

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M I
49-

MACKINAC,

FORMERLY

MICHILIMACKINAC.

BY JOHN R. BAILEY, M. D.

Attending Surgeon, Fort Mackinac, Mich; (Late) Acting Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army, and Post Surgeon at Fort Mackinac, Mich., Fort Snelling, Minn., and Fort Hamilton, New York Harbor, and U. S. Physician for the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians at Michilimackinac.

Brevet Lieut. Col. U. S. Volunteers and (Late) Asst-Surgeon and Surgeon Eighth Missouri Infantry Volunteers.

Organizer and first Commander, 1861, New House of Refuge General Hospital, St. Louis, Mo.; Surgeon-in-Chief and Chief of Operating Corps, 2d Div. 15th A. C.; Chief Medical Officer on Staff of General Morgan L. Smith, General Lewis Wallace, General Giles A. Smith, General Lightburn, General David Stuart, General William T. Sherman and General F. P. Blair, Jr.; Surgeon in charge of Regimental Hospitals at St. Louis Arsenal, Mo., Paducah, Ky., Fort Heiman and Crump's Landing, Tennessee River, and Milliken's Bend, La.; Special Field and General Field Hospitals at Fort Donelson, Shiloh, Russel's House, Corinth, Memphis, Tenn., Chickasaw Bayou, Miss., Arkansas Post, Ark., and Jackson, Champion Hills, and Vicksburg, Mississippi, Etc., Etc.

Special Medical Purveyor, Army of the Tennessee, in the Field, at Chattanooga.

SEATTLE GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY

Index

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CORRIGENDA.

Page 10, line 9, for "Eneuin" read Enyuin.

Page 14 and 226 for "St. Molo" read St. Malo.

Page 15, 16 for "Saquenay" read Saguenay.

Page 69, line 20, for "a. a" read "at a."

Page 69, line 30, for "Angeblau" read Angeblan.

Page 104, line 28, for Jemette read *Ja*mette.

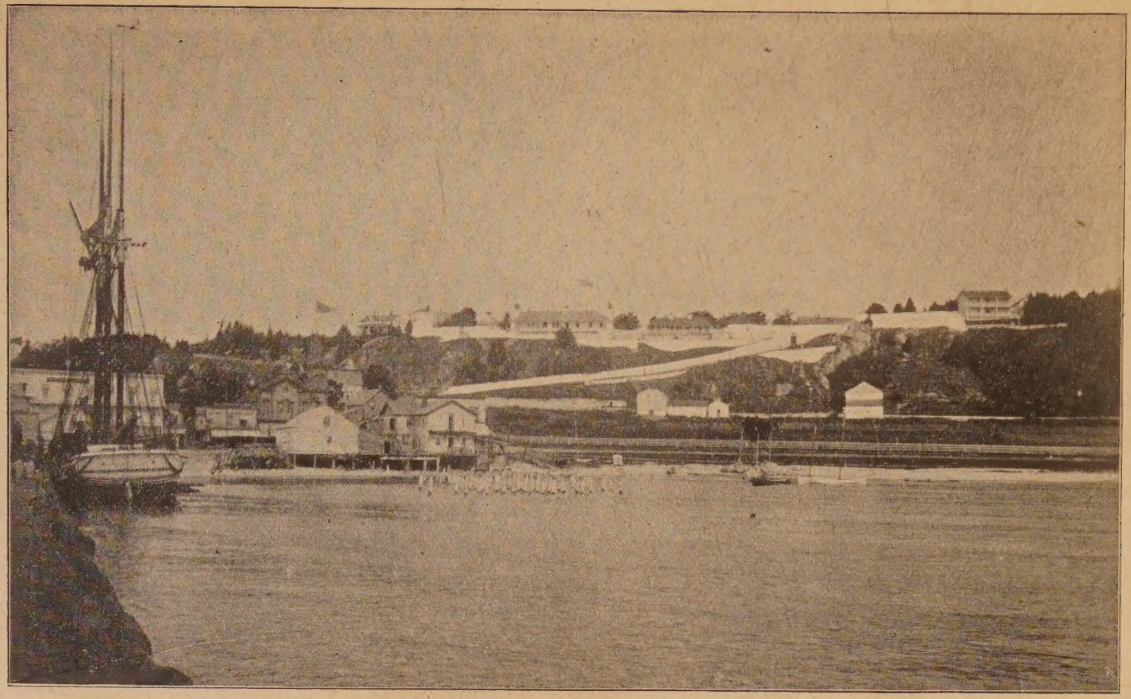
Page 164, line 11, for "*Ample*" read *time*.

Page 188, line 1, for "23° Far." read -23° Far.

Page 205, for "Mc Guard" read Mc C. Guard.

Page 218, line 5, for *L*ost read *P*ost.

Page 218, line 21-24 inclusive, erase " (" ") quotation marks.



FORT MACKINAC, MICHIGAN.

THIS VOLUME,
STYLED
THE "NEOSHO" EDITION,
IS, WITH LOVE, AND A TRIBUTE OF RESPECT,
DEDICATED
TO MY SISTER,
MRS. MARY NEOSHO WILLIAMS,
WIDOW OF GENERAL THOMAS WILLIAMS,
U. S. ARMY,
WHO WAS KILLED IN THE BATTLE OF BATON ROUGE, LA.,
AUGUST FIFTH,
EIGHTEEN HUNDRED AND SIXTY-TWO.

"Ye say they all have passed away,
That noble race and brave
That their light canoes have vanished
From off the crested wave;'
That 'mid the forest where they roamed
There rings no hunter's shout;
But their name is on your waters—
Ye may not wash it out.

"Ye say their cone-like cabins,
That clustered o'er the vale,
Have fled away like withered leaves
Before the autumn gale;
But their memory liveth on your hills,
Their baptism on your shore;
Your everlasting rivers speak
Their dialect of yore."

PREFACE.

Mackinac, formerly Michilimackinac—looking backwards to about the time of "The Flood" and forward to the present time, has been carefully written, and the following works and official reports referred to: Mitchell's Geography, 1843; Taylor's Manual of History; Michigan Manual; London and Paris State Papers; United States State Papers, and Official Reports; Sketches of the Life of Gurdon S. Hubbard; Letters and Documents of the American Fur Co.; my own personal copies of Official Letters and Reports, Fort Mackinac, Mich.; Memoir of Pere James Marquette, by John R. Bailey, M. D.; Verwyst—Missionary Labors of Marquette, Menard and Allouez; Ancient and Modern Michilimackinac; History of the Ottawa and Chippewa Indians of Michigan (Blackbird's); Van Fleet's Old and New Mackinac; Maps of Mackinac; Palmer's Historical Register, 1814; Shea's Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi; also, Shea's Catholic Missions; Hennepin; La Hontan, two volumes; Charlevoix, two volumes; Alexander Henry; Carver; Disturnell; Newcomb's Cyclopædia of Missions; American Missions to the Heathen; Geological Reports by Foster and Whitney, and by Professor Winchell; Thatcher's Indian Biography, two volumes; Strickland's Old Mackinaw; Drake's Northern Lakes

and Southern Invalids; also, Diseases of the Mississippi Valley, by the same author; Holme's American Annals, two volumes; Robertson's History of America; Bancroft's United States; Bell's Canada, two volumes; Albach's Annals of the West; Lahnman's Michigan; Sheldon's Early Michigan; Historical and Scientific Sketches of Michigan; Neill's Minnesota; Smith's Wisconsin, three volumes; Wynne's General History of the British Empire; Roger's Concise Account of North America; Dillon's Early Settlement of the Northwestern Territory; Heriot's Canada; Parkman's Pontiac; Parkman's Discovery of the Great West; Schoolcraft's Works, complete; Documentary History of New York, complete; History and Discovery of the North West, Butterfield's; and other works in my library.

I am under obligation to 1st Lieut. Woodbridge Geary, commanding Fort Mackinac, and David W. Murray, Foley Brothers and George C. Ketchum, of the Island, for books of reference.

The historical facts and dates are drawn from books, and matter that has long been accumulating, and much, in the last century, from personal observation of over fifty years of life, with the Indians, on the frontiers of our nation.

J. R. B.

Mackinac Island, Michigan, May 24, 1895.

MACKINAC, FORMERLY MICHILIMACINAC.

"Lo! the poor Indian, whose untutored mind,
Sees God in storms and hears Him in the wind."

GENESIS OF THE INDIAN.

To ascertain the genesis of a race or people we must carry our researches far back of modern times into the regions of antiquity. Man began with a mere existence, his personal wants and desires were all he had to care for. The Indian, like the Caucassian, is a creature of environment. He advanced as his limited resources permitted, or descended to the lowest grade of savagery when driven out by a stronger tribe and forced to extremity.

"O, why does the white man follow my path,
Like the hound on the tiger's track?"

When the Spaniards first visited this, then unknown land, they found the inhabitants of the "New World" in the various stages of society, from the lowest savage state to that of a half civilized people. From whence came these tribes and why their various conditions? They must have migrated from adjacent lands and reached this continent from the near shores of Northeastern Asia at a period unknown.

America is a continuation of the land surface of the earth from Asia. The shallow straits of "Behring" are merely a depression in the uplift where the ancient drift and glaciers have washed through and by erosion made the original valley wider and deeper.

PEOPLE OF ALASKA.—"The Esquimaux are evidently of Tartar origin, and no doubt migrated from Asia about the time of their wars in China during the ninth and tenth centuries." The language of that people, on the Eastern and Western coasts of North America, by the sea, and of the Tchoutski bears a strong resemblance. Interpreters from Hudson's Bay, and Moravian missionaries from Labrador can converse with them. They, the Esquimaux, in speakiug of themselves, apply the word "Eneuin" people. The beginning of winter is the first of their year. It is divided into four seasons and twelve moons.

Kinzeghan, near Cape Prince of Wales, Alaska, has long been a trading place with Tchuktchi or Asiatic tribes, who cross the straits, from East Cape, in boats, in mid summer, by way of the Diomede islands. They meet the natives of the coast, east and west, and those of the Mackenzie and Yukon river basins, who come far from the south to trade. In July the Mackenzie is navigable, for large vessels, into Great Slave Lake, more than one thousand miles south of the "Frozen Ocean," and the Yukon (or Kivhpak), as far. Fish and game are abundant in all this territory, and barley, oats and potatoes will grow to maturity at Fort Norman, latitude 64° 31′ north. (See "Hours at Home," "Russian America," July, 1867, pp. 254 to 265.)

In arctic climes, the days of summer are long, the heat of the sun often intense, nights are short, and the face of nature develops rapidly. The rivers and even the streamlets become irresistible, moving floods. They teem with terrestrial life along their borders, and aqueous life within, and winged aerial upon their waters. Therefore, there is food enough, and to spare, for the Tartar Indian nomads.

There is now living on Mackinac Island a mixed blood

Indian woman about 68 years old (who came here at the age of seventeen), of the Kilistinoux or Cree tribe. She was born in the Churchill river country, between Hudson's Bay and Great and Little Slave lakes. She says her people went to the north in summer by way of Great Slave lake to barter with the tribes on the "Frozen Sea." They started early in March and did not return until the next year. They met the people from the "Sea" coming up the river, half way. Some of her people returned and others went north and did not come back. Other parties went north by way of Red river (of the north) to trade and sell furs. They, too, would go one year, start in March, and not come back until the next season. Time then was no object. This woman, Madam Cadro (now Cadotte), is part French. Her people gave her in marriage to Cadro when she was only twelve years old. He was a "Courier du Bois" and an "Engagee" of the Hudson's Bay Company. Madam Cadro is an intelligent, industrious, hard working woman, and is generally respected. She relates this story as a part of her life without the slightest idea it has any bearing of importance.

"The Kilistinoux have their more ordinary place of abode in the vicinity of the Sea of the North." "The 'Assimpoula lac,' a tribe allied with the Kilistinoux, where the country is still more toward the north," Assineboines, from "assin," a stone, and "boines," or "eboines" a corruption of "Bawn"-Sioux. (See Hist. and Biog. notes.) They are the Sioux of the north, and bands of the Sioux of the plains far to the south of them.

THE JEWS IN CHINA.—Colonies of Jewish extraction have been known to exist in Pekin and the interior of China in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and before. Jewish traditions, Chinese inscriptions, and observations of travelers

show that large and influential communities of the Children of Israel have resided in China for a period of not less that two thousand years.*

† China is the oldest nation on the face of the earth and has been a government, it is claimed, for at least forty-five centuries. Japan was settled from that country and was a part of that vast domain. The natives of Japan believe their country existed 660 years before the Christian Era.

† That the aboriginals of America came originally from Asia and the outlaying islands of that continent, by the natural drift of current events, the "Curo Shiwo" and the Pacific drift currents, can hardly be doubted. They might have been driven off the coasts of Japan in their frail craft by storms and wafted by the ocean currents to the shores of Alaska, or as far to the south as California and Mexico, or have crossed Behring straits by way of the many islands in that channel. Numerous instances of wrecks with survivors on board have been recorded since 1785. In 1837 three shipwrecked Japanese were picked up in Washington Territory. Others have since been rescued along the Pacific coasts and returned to Japan.

What occurred 100 years ago could have happened 1,000 years before, or at any time since the flood, when "All the fountains of the great deep were broken up," and afterwards the surface of the earth was re-peopled. There is no mystery about the origin of the native American. The Indian came from Asia, the cradle of the human race. He may have been Aryan or Mongolian or other extraction; that is of no consideration. Time, climate, food, habits, and environment,

* Hours at Home, May, 1868, pp. 90 to 93.

† China, pages 397 to 409 and to 414, and Japan, 627 to 634. Lalor's Cyclopedia of Political Science, etc.

with all its influences have effaced his lineage and made him a distinctly marked type. So, Columbus, when he was first discovered by the shy inhabitants of our tropical sea, was not so far out of the way when he named the natives "Indians."

Having essayed to trace the origin of the aborigines, we now come to the time, from A. D. 1001 to 1492, when they were sighted by eastern navigators in their native land. One of them, whose exploits are recorded and best known, the aforesaid Christopher Columbus, in 1492, first landed from his Caravels on a tropical island, one of a group at the entrance of what is now the Gulf of Mexico. That Genoese anchored off the coast and viewed the "Promised Land." Investing himself and his followers in gorgeous array they waded to the shore, bearing aloft the colors of Spain and Aragon with the cross, the emblem of Christianity. He unfurls the flag and plants the cross before the astonished and frightened natives on the soil of the New World, taking by force of arms a country belonging to others, in the name of the sovereigns who promoted his enterprise. Here began a series of acts, wrongs, sequestration, pillage and extermination that have been continued under the guise of Christianity by the nations of Europe and our Republic to the present time. It is but the continuance of the survival of the fittest —the strong overpowering the weak.

Columbus is followed by Cortez, for one, who falls upon the peaceful nations of Mexico and Peru, slaughters their people, dethrones their monarchs, and lays waste their cities and plantations. Those nations are said to have been far advanced in civilization, agriculture and social conditions. And about the same time came the French, English, Dutch, Portugese and others, until we come down to the founding

of a "New France," on the banks and in the valley of the St. Lawrence, which includes the basin of the Great Lakes.

New France.—James Cartier, St. Molo, France, discovered the St. Lawrence in 1534, and anchored in Gaspé Bay. He had two vessels of 50 tons each, and 122 sailors. He sailed up the gulf in August until he could see land on both sides of the river. The following year he returned and ascended the St. Lawrence as far as the Indian village on the island of Hochelaga. He called the hill on the island "Mont-Réal," and it is now the city and island of "Montreal." He remained all the winter of 1535 in a palisaded fort on the banks of the St. Charles. That winter was very cold and many of his men died.

In the spring he took possession of the country again, as he had done the year before, in the name of the King of France. Then he returned to France in two of his ships, having abandoned the third one, and on July 16, 1536, again anchored at St. Molo. Cartiers' abandoned ship was found imbedded in mud three hundred and twelve years afterwards. No attempt to plant a permanent colony was made for a series of years after 1534 and 1536; but it is inferred that some French of both of these expeditions remained and intermarried with the Algonquins and Hurons, adapting themselves to their condition and mode of life.

Again, May 23, 1541, Cartier sailed from St. Molo with five vessels, under the auspices of John Francis de la Rogue. La Rogue was Lord of Roberval, whom the French King had appointed viceroy of the Country of the St. Lawrence. Cartier entered the St. Lawrence and established a fort near the present site of Quebec. Then he, in two boats, went up the river and explored the rapids above Hochelaga island. After the exploration he returned and passed the winter in

his fort. In the spring he returned to France. In June, 1542, when outward bound, he met the Viceroy at the harbor of St. John with three ships and two hundred men. Roberval ordered him to return, but he eluded him in the night and continued his voyage. The Viceroy, although abandoned, wintered in the St. Lawrence. That spring, 1543, he also left the country and virtually gave up his possessions. No doubt more of the Viceroy's men remained in the land and took dusky residents for wives.

Adventurers and fishermen continued to cross the Atlantic, until in 1578 there were no less than twenty whalers from the Bay of Biscay, and three hundred and fifty fishing vessels at Newfoundland. Those people were French, Spanish, Portugese and English. They must, of course, have visited the main land to barter and get supplies from the natives.

King Henry IV. of France, encouraged the Marquis de la Roche, in 1598, to recolonize New France. But that expedition was ill fated, and forty convicts were left on Sable island near the coast of Nova Scotia. Five years afterwards twelve of the convicts were found alive.

The following year a merchant, Pontgravé, and a marine captain, Chauvin, were granted a monopoly of the fur trade by the King of France. They started out to get five hundred persons to found the new colony. Arriving at the mouth of the Saquenay, there, at Tadousac, they built a cluster of log huts and storehouses, and left sixteen men to gather furs. They left and did not return until 1601, when they found the men had scattered among the Indians or were dead. Chauvin made a second and a third voyage, but the colonizing scheme was another failure. On the third voyage he died, and with him the colony ended.

In 1603, Samuel Champlain formed a company of mer-

chants and adventurers to found, in earnest, a colony in Canada. He sailed over in two small vessels, and made a survey of the St. Lawrence as far as the island of Hochelaga. He tried to ascend the rapids, in a skiff with Indian guides, but did not succeed. The Indians made a rude plan of the river and the lakes above, that gave a crude idea of their vast extent. On getting the information desired he returned to his ships and sailed for France, but resolved to come again better equipped. Champlain sailed, the second time, April 13, 1608, fitted out for trade, exploration and colonization. The Saquenay was reached in June, and soon after a settlement was made, at Quebec, on the bank where the lower town is situated.

The winter of 1608–9 was severe, and not being inured to cold his men suffered greatly. On the opening of spring fresh supplies from France arrived. June, 1609, Champlain, with only two white men and sixty Hurons and Algonquins, ascended the Richelieu into the lake that now bears his name. They were met on the lake and opposed by a band of Iroquois, who were soon routed by a few shots from an arquebuse. The Iroquois and all the five nations of what is now New York, were at war with the Hurons of the lakes and the Algonquins whose range was the Ottawa and St. Lawrence rivers. Afterwards the French called all Algonquins, wherever found, Ottawas.

Champlain returned to France, but we find him back to his province in 1610, 1611 and 1613 having crossed and returned between those periods. Having learned from the Indians the great extent of country, the distant Hudson's Bay, the large fresh water seas, and the copper found on the shores of Lake Superior, of the fish of all the waters in unlimited quantity, and the fur-bearing animals, he wished to visit

them. The great object, then, was to secure the fur trade and explore the route to China and India. With that intent in 1613 he sailed up the St. Lawrence "bound for the Ottawa to discover the North Sea." He reached Isle des Allumettes and returned baffled and disgusted to France.

1615. The Indians along the St. Lawrence and the shores of the great lakes, came yearly, in summer, to trade with the French settlers. That year when the Hurons and Algonquins were assembled at Montreal, they asked Champlain to lead them against their old enemies the Iroquois of New York and he accepted their proposal. Champlain then went to Quebec for supplies. Returning he learned the savages got impatient and left July 1 for their villages. Father Joseph le Caron, a Recollet and twelve Frenchmen, who were armed went with them July 10th. Champlain followed with ten Indians and two Frenchmen. Both parties went by way of the Ottawa to the Algonquin villages. They passed the two lakes of the Allumettes and took a long-used portage* to Lake Nippissing, and from that lake in canoes floated and paddled down the French river into Georgian bay. Then they took a southward course along the shores of the bay to the Huron villages more than one hundred miles distant at the head of the bay, the allied forces then moved across the country by way of the river Trent to Lake Ontario. They boldly crossed the lake and landing, pushed into the interior and besieged the Iroquois who were entrenched in forts. They were not successful and returned to their homes with Champlain. In the spring Champlain returned to Quebec, by way of the Ottawa, arriving July 11, 1616. Le Caron returned a few days before Champlain, having learned something of the language and the Indian mode of life. It is claimed that the Chippewas and Ottawas (Algonquins) of the straits of Michil-

* Between L. Nippissing and the Mattawan, or "beaver residence."

imackinac and Lake Michigan islands and a few Sacs and Sioux, were in that expedition. At that early period Champlain and his followers had learned from observation and previous reports the vast extent of territory and inland fresh water seas, he held for the French crown.

Franciscan Monks.—From 1608 to 1633 the priests and monks of the gray robes (Recollets) were the dominant religious order in New France. Up to 1622 they had established five missions from Acadia to the borders of Lake Huron. Champlain himself was a Zealot firmly imbued with the Roman faith. "Canada was a true child of the Church." The statesman, soldier and the priest, with his cross, went hand in hand together and planted a shrine in every village. Their object was to secure the rich fur trade and proselyte the natives to the Church of Rome.

1622. In 1622 the Hugenots received a concession in New France, but their stay was short. Then for the first time there came three Jesuits, one of them John de Brebeuf, whose career and final death is historic.

1627. Louis the thirteenth (Richelieu, being Cardinal and really King) chartered the "Hundred Associates Company," granting them forever Quebec and fort, all New France and Florida. Champlain was one of that company. The King gave the company two ships and invested them with almost sovereign power. The Roman Catholic Church was to be the established one, and no other. That, with the Indian wars and the Hugenots, lead to new troubles in the province, and

> "A strange harmonious inclination
> Of all degrees to reformation."

1629. The English captured Quebec and all New France in 1629, and returned the whole country, by treaty, in 1632.

1633. We find Champlain again in command of the fort and town of Quebec and New France, that he had previously been obliged to surrender to the English. This time under the "Hundred Associates Company," and the Jesuits, priests of the black robes, in the ascendant.

As soon as the French were known to be in command again one hundred and fifty Huron canoes arrived at Fort St. Croix, Three Rivers, to trade with their old friends. With them came John Nicolet, the interpreter, who was directed by Champlain to proceed with the returning convoys to "La Nation des Puants" (at Green Bay, Wis.,) to make a treaty with them and learn of "The Men of the Sea" about their country, and "the great water."

1634. In compliance with instructions Jean Nicolet, who had returned with the Hurons, journeyed by the Ottawa route, Lake Nipissing and Georgian Bay, towards the land of the Winnebagoes. He was conveyed by seven friendly Indians in birch-bark canoes. Passing the mouth of the French river westward, he met the "Nation of Beavers" "Amá koü ai" (Amik or Amikou) a beaver. They were descended from the "Great Beaver," next to the "Great Hare," their principal divinity. Their original homes were the Beaver Islands ("Isles du Castor") in Lake Michigan and afterwards the Manitoulin Islands in Lake Huron. The French named them "Nez Percés" from their habit of wearing ornaments and feathers thrust through their noses.

The following translated from the French: [1] "On the 18th of June, 1635, the chief of the Nez Percés or Beaver Nation, which is three days journey from us (the Jesuit missonaries located at the head of Georgian Bay of Lake Huron) came to

[1] "History of the Discovery of the Northwest by John Nicolet in 1634," pages 45-6. By C. W. Butterfield.

demand of us some one of the Frenchmen to go with them to pass the summer in a fort which they had made by reason of the fear which they have of the * "A8 eats i 8 aenühonon," that is to say the nation of the Puarts—(Winnebagoes), who have broken the treaty of peace and have killed two of their men, of whom they have made a feast."

The Beaver tribe were then on the main land where Sieur Nicolet found them. Still farther on the shore of the great lake were the "Oumisagai" Indians. All were of Algonquin stock, and could be easily understood. The canoes pressed onward and entered the St. Mary's river at Detour (the turn) and paddled up the stream to the falls Sault de Sainte Marie. "And there stood Nicolet, the first white man to set foot upon any portion of what was, more than a century and a half after, called 'the territory northwest of the river Ohio,'" at present the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota east of the Mississippi river. The Indians found at the Sault (leap or fall) pronounced "Soo," were also Algonquins, Ojibiwas or Chippewas called by the French Saulteurs (and Sauteurs) and by the Sioux as Raratwans, "people of the falls" and other names meaning the same.

After a short stay at Sault Ste Marie he returned down the river in his canoes propelled by the paddles of the seven Hurons. On reaching the mouth of the river they made the turn (Detour) and coursing along the shores of the northern peninsula they passed Les Cheneaux, (the channels), St. Martin's Islands, St. Ignace, and the island of Michilimackinac, Gros Cap and Seul Choix in succession, until they turned from Lake Michigan into Bay de Noquet ("No-ka," bear),

* "8" occurs in The Relation of 1636, and is equivalent in English to "w, we, or oo."

where the shores are sand. There is a big and little bay of the same name. Here we visited a tribe called Roqui and Noquets, or bear family, Algonquins classed with Chippewas. Farther up Green Bay he came to the Menomonees on a river of the same name. They were Algonquins of a lighter color, and their language was not easy to understand. They lived on wild rice and by fishing and hunting. After a short stay he resumed his voyage to the Winnebagoes, to whom he had sent one of the Hurons in advance. The Indian was well received, for-told of his coming and his message of peace. The Winnebagoes sent several of their young men to meet him, the "wonderful man," who escort him and carry his baggage to their camp. Arriving, he advanced clothed in a robe of "Chinese damask sprinkled with flowers and birds of different colors," and a pistol in each hand, both of which he discharged in the air, to the right and left. The women and children fled in dismay, for he was a "Manitou" who carried thunder in his hands. The Winnebagoes were found to be numerous. Their language was different from any Algonquins or Hurons; they were of Dakota stock. At that time the Sacs and Foxes had not arrived; they came at a later period.

Hearing of his coming, four or five thousand natives of the different tribes soon assembled to meet him in council. Nicolet made an alliance with them and urged them to keep the peace with each other and the tribes eastward of Lake Huron and with the Hurons and Nez Percés.

After the treaty he visited the Mascoutins, six (6) days' journey up the Fox River. These Indians were also called "Les Renards," "Musquakies," etc. Champlain heard of them in 1615, "as being engaged in a war with the Neuter Nation and the Ottawas." From that tribe (Mascoutins) and others

Nicolet got confused stories of the Mississippi, Algonquin, "Missi," great, and "sepe," water. They were so mixed with the Ouisconsin (Wisconsin) that he could not get a definite idea of what he and others supposed was the "sea," distant only three days' journey. From here he went southward and visited the Illinois tribe on the prairies and returned to the Winnebagoes.

On his return trip homeward he tarried with the Pottawatamies, who lived on the islands at the mouth of Green Bay.

1635. This was in the spring of 1635, after the ice had broken up. The course was by way of the Straits of Michilimackinac and the island of the same name to the south shore of Great Manitoulin island, where a band of the Ottawas lived. The same seven Hurons were with him as his convoy. From that island they crossed Georgian Bay to the Huron villages. That season he accompanied the Indians on their annual trading trip to his post on the St. Lawrence river. They probably reached Three Rivers between July 15 and 23, 1635. See Vimont (Relation 1640 and 1643). Champlain died in the fort at Quebec, December 25, 1635.

1642. Father Isaac Jogues and Raymbault, S. J., plant the cross at Sault Ste. Marie, Michigan. Jean Nicolet was drowned by the upsetting of a boat on the river, above Quebec, near the last of Oct., 1642. ("History of the discovery of the North West, by C. W. Butterfield.")

1646. Oct. 18th, Father Isaac Jogues killed by the Mohawks.

1648. July 14th, the mission of St. Mary's on the river Richelieu, was surprised by the Iroquois, early in the morning when the braves were absent on war or hunting parties, and all the women and children, old men and the attending

priest (Father Daniel) were massacred. The Hurons were terrified and village after village was abandoned.

1649. At day break, March 16, 1649, one thousand Iroquois assault the town of St. Ignatius on the Richelieu (Sorel) and all were butchered and scalped except three who escaped to St. Louis, near by. The Hurons fled in all directions and fifteen towns were abandoned. December 7, 1649, the village Etharita (near the head of Georgian Bay) of the Tinnontate Hurons (who cultivated tobacco), was attacked and the men, women and children and Father Garnier, tomahawked and massacred. After this general Algonquin defeat, "the Hurons and Ottawas settled for some years on Missilemackinac Island, and, again, fled to the islands at the entrance of Green Bay, thence to the shores." "Memorié," Nicolas Perrot, pp. 91, 92.

Father Grelon escaped the slaughter, and afterwards went to China. Years after, on the plains of Tartary he met a Huron woman whom he had known on the shores of Lake Huron. She had been sold from tribe to tribe until she had reached the steppes of Central Asia. Shea, "Cath. Missions," who cites Charlevoix, ch. V., p. 45.

At that time the Huron mission was destroyed, thirty villages abandoned and the frightened Hurons fled across the waters to the islands and main land of lakes Huron, Superior and Michigan. In the massacre of March 16, 1649, Father John de Brebeuf, and March 17, Father Lallemant, S. J., were cruelly tortured to death. Father Allouez afterwards found some of the Hurons at Chagaouamigong Bay and the Apostles Islands, Lake Superior, in 1665.

1654. Two French traders pass by way of Michilimackinac Island and Pointe Iroquois (St. Ignace) through the straits to Green Bay. They return in 1656 with 60 canoes,

loaded with furs, and a large party of Huron and Ottawas bound for the market at Three Rivers, on the St. Lawrence.

1665. Nicholas Perrot was the next known and recorded adventurer who made a canoe voyage through the Straits of Michilimackinac to Green Bay. From 1534 (up to this date) when Cartier explored the St. Lawrence and planted a colony far up in the interior of New France, that subsequently carried the fur trade to the banks of the Saskatchawan, there were Frenchmen in the province. Many of them were illiterate, and, of course, left no record. They were simply trappers and voyageurs. They mingled with the Indians, intermarried, and adapted themselves to the native mode of life. The Indians built forts surrounded by palisades of cedar, implanted in the ground, from twelve to twenty-five feet high, for protection against the assaults of other tribes. The French did the same, and taught the savages how to improve and better protect them. The voyageurs were the pioneers, the advance pickets, of the coming host of European usurpers.

1668. The French continue to advance, as well as the English, Spanish and Portugese in other parts of the continent, until in 1668 they are found in the region of Michilimackinac controling large and valuable missions under the Jesuits. With them the arts of a more civilized people prevailed to some extent, and the natives were brought to worship the God of the white man. About this time, 1668, New France was divided into the following provinces:

1. Hudson Bay—All territory north of latitude 49° and west indefinitely.

2. Quebec—With Canada east, southward to the head of Lake Champlain, and westward to the headwaters of the Ohio.

3. Michilimackinac—The country west of Quebec and

southward to and along the Ohio, to the western boundary of what is now Minnesota, and all the country drained into Lakes Superior and Huron.* Acadia (Nova Scotia), Cape Breton, New Foundland, etc., were also included in New France.

British America was then a strip of land between the Apalachian mountains and the Atlantic ocean.

Spanish Possessions.—On the south of these was the Spanish possession of Florida (Georgia included) and nearly all of the territory south of the Ohio, and the valley of the Mississippi as far as the mouth of the Illinois.

Vice-Royalty of Mexico, called New Spain, included all to the southwest of these and north as far as Cape Mendocino on the Pacific coast. All north of that cape was unexplored and unknown.

New Mexico.—Later, when the province of New Mexico was erected, it extended to the Missouri river, north, at the place of the Mandan Indians.

Louisiana, under the French, claimed all territory south of parallel 31°, east of the Mississippi, and west of Georgia, and west of the Mississippi from its mouth to its source as far as the Pacific ocean. It trenched on the Spanish possessions of Florida and New Mexico.

1700. Province of Detroit.—That province was set off from Michilimackinac, and included all of Canada west above the Cataract of Niagara and north to Lake Huron, that part of Michigan south of Saginaw Bay, and most of Ohio and Indiana.

Detroit was settled in 1701 and in a few years became more important than Michilimackinac. Before that date "Michilimackina" had a history and afterwards a separate history.

Michilimackinac.—Before and after these last dates the capitol and the metropolis of the Province of Michilimacki-

* From about long. 78° E. to 97° W., lat. 49° to 50° N. to 37° S.

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nac was on the island of the same name, in the Straits of Michilimackinac. It was not only the seat of justice and base of supplies, but the center of trade of a vast territory. It was the headquarters of French traders and trappers and their Courier des Bois and white and Indian employees. The little island was well known and gave its name to the extensive Province of Michilimackinac.

Indian language. All Indian languages, Algonquin, or others, and the dialects of the various tribes and bands of tribes, are, as a rule, better spoken and more clearly understood by educated white people than by the natives themselves. There is nothing singular about this, it is so the world over with all intelligent peoples.

The Chippewas and Ottawas are of Algonquin lineage and consequently their language is a dialect. Chippewa and Ottawa are much alike so that the two dialects are called one tongue or language. Chippewa is a wonderfully regular and expressive language. It abounds in verbs; nine-tenths, if not more, of its words are verbs, only two of which are irregular. Many of the words though expressive are long on account of adding new syllables to the various moods, tenses, persons and participles of the verbs and of the compounding of words from two or more roots. There are words that have from eight to ten and as many as nineteen syllables. For instance: "Metchikmakobidjiganikewininiwissigobaneag," a participle meaning, "men who perhaps did not build fences." Such a word would be a nut for a German savant to crack. Just one more for our friends at the head of Lake Michigan: Chicago, Ottawa, she-gog-oŭg, locative case of she-gog, "skunk;" Nom., she-gog; loc, she-gog-oŭg; Obj., she-gog or she-gog-won. This ancient tongue has many words and syllables that are radical, resembling those of Asiatic and European languages, and some have the same meaning. It

is a "living, acting language; everything in it seems to live and act." See Dictionary and Grammar of Chippewa, by Bishop Baraga. Beuchemin and Valois, 256–58, St. Paul St., Montreal, Canada.

Michilimackinac. The name of the province Michilimackinac is as before stated the one given by the savages as rendered by the French to the island in the straits now called "Mackinac."

Michili-"Mackinạc, terminal "c," silent "ạ" broad, pronounced in English ("Mackinaw"). There is no "w" in the French alphabet. In Mackinạck terminal "c" and "k" are both silent, "k" is superfluous. It is the French rendering, from the Chippewa and Ottawa dialect of Algonquin. The early French who got the name from the Indians spelled it in various ways, and so did the English, but always so as to get the present pronunciation, "Mackinaw," "Maquinạ," "Macinạ," "Macinạc." The French being the first dominants, their spelling prevails, but the pronunciation is the same in French and English; Macinạc, final "c" silent. In place of "w" beginning a word, the French use "ou," as "Ouisconsin," English "Wisconsin."

Michilimackinac is claimed to be derived from the Indian words Michi, "great," and Mackinac, "turtle," from a fancied resemblance to a large mud turtle; also from the Chippewa Mi-chi-ne Mau-ki-nouk, the two meaning "the place of giant fairies." Schoolcraft says there is another meaning besides "great turtle." It also means "spirits," or "fairy spirits." The spirits were want to take the form of a turtle and become "turtle spirits."

The nine Iroquois tribes were divided into two divisions of four and five tribes each. The first of the four tribes was called "Atiniathan," and known as the "Tortoise" tribe "It is the first because they pretend, when the Master of

Life made the Earth, that he placed it on a tortoise; and when there are earthquakes it is the tortoise that stirs." ("1666. Paris Loc., I.)*

Some of the Huron bands had for totems the tortoise, bear and plover. The bear was brother of the tortoise, as with the Iroquois.

Macke-e-te-be-nessy (Blackbird), an Indian interpreter and son of an Ottawa chief, says that "Mi-she-mi-ki-nock" (Chippewa) does not mean "large turtle" nor "monstrous large turtle." "Michilimackinac" is not derived from "Michimickinock."

When the Ottawas discovered the Island of Michilimackinac, long before the Spaniards first came to America. it was inhabited by a small remnant, independent tribe, who became confederates with the Ottawas.

The Ottawas were then living on the Manitoula Island, Lake Huron. Their enemies, the Iroquois, of New York, often made war with them. Once in the dead of winter the Ottawas were having a great jubilee and war dances on Manitoulin Island to celebrate their victory over the Winnebagoes of Ouisconsin, when the Iroquois swept down upon them and annihilated all but two. Those two, a young man and a maiden, escaped, and traveled over the ice to Michilimackinac Island, with inverted snow shoes. That was done to prevent their tracks being followed. They made their hiding place in the natural caves of the island. They selected the wildest part of the forest and lived in seclusion. They were occasionally seen, and, in time, they raised a family of ten children, all boys. One winter the whole family vanished in some mysterious way. Ever since the Ottawas and Chippewas have called them "Paw-gaw-tchaw-nish-naw-boy." "Wild roaming supernatural being." To this day they are in exist-

*Doc. Hist. of New York, Vol. 1, Page 3.

ence, roaming in the wildest parts of the island and on the main land. They can be seen, or unseen, just as they, as spirits, please. Sometimes they will throw a stone or a war club at a person walking in a lonely place, at other times they will throw at your dog and set him to barking with fright. Again they will, in the day or night, throw clubs at a lodge in a lonely place, and have been heard walking around the wigwam. They have been tracked over the snow by hunters, but never overtaken. An Indian, walking or hunting alone, will apprehend some great evil, and be seized with an unearthly fright that makes him shiver from head to feet, and the hairs on his head stand up like porcupine quills. You are benumbed with terror by these spirits, the sensation is so awful. But they never harm any one.

When an Indian recovers from the spell he generally exclaims, "Pshaw! there is nothing to fear, it is Paw-gaw-tchaw-nish-naw, boy approaching me, he wants something." They then leave tobacco, powder or something else in their tracks that the spirits fancy when in the flesh. If they appear and talk to you they always begin with the sad tale of the great catastrophy on the Island of Mackinac, and, whoever is so fortunate as to see and talk with them, always becomes a prophet to his people.

Reader, if you are imaginative, and seek these lonely woods and caves alone, and the proper spell comes over you, perhaps you may see those spirit fairies, face to face, and learn of them their tragic fate. Therefore, according to understood traditions, the tribal name of those people was "Mishi-ne-macki-naw-go," which is to this day a monument to their existence. The Ottawas and Chippewas named the little island "Mi-shi-ne-macki-nong," in memorial of their former confederates. It is the locative case of the Indian noun, "Michinemackinewgo," and is where the name Michili-

mackinac originated. It is said some of the paleface chiefs, tourists of the present day, vie with the Indians of the Fairy Isle, and induct the spirits from their secluded abodes into their corporeal forms. They tell us that the island is truly a resort that revels with spirits of the departed.

We have dished up a salad, as a relish and variety, some of the renderings of the name:

"Missilimakina." "Missilimakenak."
"Missilimaquina." "Missilimakinak."
"Missilimaquine." "Missilimackinae."
"Michilimaquina." "Missilimackinac."
"Michilimachina." "Michilimackinac."
"Mackina." "Machinac."
"Macina." "Mackinaw."
"Maquina." "Mackinac."

If you only get the "Nac" right, you will know how to "Nạ c" ("naw") the name.

1653. We drop back a few years, to 1653, when the Iriquois invaders, eight hundred strong, pass the Straits of Michilimackinac to attack the Hurons at Green Bay. They laid siege to the place for a protracted time, but failed to capture the fort. The Iroquois then broke up into two divisions, one marched south and the other sailed northward through Lake Michigan. The first division met the Illinois and were cut down and captured by them. The Lake Michigan division met the same fate from the Chippewa, Missisaki and other ("Nigik") tribes on Lake Huron.

1660. Looking forward from our last date we find Father Reni Menard, S. J., October 15, 1660, at Keewenaw Bay, Lake Superior. He perished or was killed at the head waters of Black River, Ouisconsin, about August 10, 1661.

Early records confirm the statement that Frenchmen were at Green Bay, Lake Superior, Sault Ste. Marie ("Soo") and

Michilimackinac before the visits of the "Black-gowns" mentioned by Bancroft. They came one year and returned the next (on their tours of trade and barter) with flotillas of canoes richly laden with furs, often convoyed by Hurons and other Algonquins, in bands, from three hundred to five hundred strong. The Indians would make their long voyages in large numbers, united to defend themselves from their enemies, the Iroquois*

We find Father Allouez at the Mission of the Algonquin Outaouacs (Ottawas) "La Pointe du Saint Esprit," on Lake Superior in the Province of Michilimackinac, in 1669. That year he went down to Quebec and turned over to Monsieur de Courcelles some Iroquois captives whom he had redeemed of the Outaouacs. Father Claude Dablon was sent to the Superior Missions and Allouez went to Sault Ste. Marie, and remained until November 3, 1669. He then departed for Bay of the Puants (Green Bay), by way of the island of Michilimackinac, arriving December 2, 1669.

1669. Michilimackinac Island was occupied and abandoned (for reasons of safety) by different bands of Indians from time to time, long before this period. It had been often passed and visited by French traders and was well known. It was there the mission of St. Ignatius was founded before it was established at Point St. Ignace. "The Hurons settled on the famous Island of Missilimackinac, where we commenced last winter the mission of St. Ignace.†

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*Drawn from "Hist. and Biog. Notes" and "Relations," 1660-1663, and other sources.

†Missionary Labors of Marquette, Menard and Allouez, Chap. xxix, p. 114, Rev. Chrysostom Verwyst, O. S. F.

MARQUETTE AT ST. IGNACE DU MICHILIMACKINAC, 1670.

FATHER MARQUETTE AT ST. IGNACE.

"The † Hurons of the Tobacco tribe, called Tionnontate, having been formerly driven from their country by the Iroquois, fled to this Island, named Missilimackinac, so famous for its fishery. They could only stay a few years, however, the very same enemies obliging them to leave this very advantageous post. They withdrew, therefore, still further to the islands which still bear their name, and are located at the entrance of the Bay of the Puants. Not finding themselves sufficiently safe, however, even there, they went far back into the woods, and from there finally chose as their last dwelling-place the extremity of Lake Superior, in a place called La Pointe du Saint Esprit. There they were far enough away from the Iroquois not to fear them, but they were too near the Nadouessi, who are, as it were, the Iroquois of these quarters of the North, being the most powerful and war-like people of this country.

"Still all proceeded peaceably enough for several years until the last (1671), when the Nadouessi having been irritated by the Hurons and Outaouacs, war broke out between them, and it began so furiously that several prisoners taken on both sides were consigned to the flames.

"The Nadouessi, however, did not wish to begin any act of hostility until after they had returned to Father Marquette some pictures of which he had made them a present, so as to give them some idea of our religion and thus to instruct them by the eye, as he was unable to do otherwise on account of their language, which is altogether different from the Algonquin and Huron.

† Relation of 1672, pp. 35 and 36.

"Enemies so formidable soon struck terror into the heart of our Hurons and Outaouacs, who determined to abandon La Pointe du Saint Esprit and all the fields they had so long cultivated.

"In their flight the Hurons, remembering the great advantages they had formerly found at Missilimackinac turned their eyes thither, as to a place of refuge, which they actually reached a year ago.

"This place has all the advantages that can be desired by Indians. Fish is abundant there at all seasons, the land is productive, and the chase for bears, deer and lynx is carried on with great success. Besides it is the great rendezvous of all the tribes who are going to or coming from the north or south.

"For this reason, foreseeing what since has actually taken place, we erected a chapel there last year already, in order to receive those passing by and to attend to the Hurons, who have settled there.

"Father Marquette, who has followed them from La Pointe du Saint Esprit, still has charge of them."*

Marquette left La Pointe in the spring of 1671. He did not reach Sault Ste. Marie in time for the great gathering of tribes (that year June 14), to make a treaty with the French. When he reached "Missilimackinac" (Pointe St. Ignace) he found "a chapel built the winter before by Father Dablon," also, "386 Christian Hurons and sixty Outaouacsinagaux." (See Hist. and Biog. notes.)

Marquette must have been on the island of Michilimackinac in 1670, as he passed a winter there before he planted his mission at Point Iriquois (St Ignace) or North Michilimackinac. He lived on the island ("Mackinac") whilst he was building the chapel and preparing for his colony.

*Id. pp. 115–116.

The following is an extract from a letter of Jaques Marquette written on Mackinac Island in 1670 (see "Relations des Jesuits," 1671):

"Michilimackinac is an island famous in these regions, of more than a league in diameter, and elevated in some places by such high cliffs as to be seen more than twelve leagues off. It is situated just in the strait forming the communication between Lake Huron and Illinois (Michigan). It is the key and, as it were, the gate for all the tribes from the south, as the Sault is for those from the north, there being in this section of country only those two passages by water; for a great number of nations have to go by one or other of these channels, in order to reach the French settlements.

"This presents a peculiarly favorable opportunity, both for instructing those who pass here, and also for obtaining easy access and conveyance to their places of abode.

"This place is the most noted in these regions for the abundance of its fishes; for, according to the Indian saying, 'this is the home of the fishes.' Elsewhere, although they exist in large numbers, is not properly their 'home,' which is in the neighborhood of Michilimackinac.

"In fact, besides the fish common to all the other tribes, as the herring, carp, pike, gold-fish, white-fish and sturgeon, there are found three varieties of the trout,—one common, the second of a larger size, three feet long and one foot thick, the third monstrous, for we cannot otherwise describe it, it being so fat that the Indians, who have a peculiar relish for fats, can scarcely eat it. Besides, the supply is such that a single Indian will take forty or fifty of them through the ice with a single spear in three hours.

"It is this attraction which has heretofore drawn to a point so advantageous the greater part of the savages in this country, driven away by fear of the Iriquois. The three tribes at pres-

ent living on the *Bay des Puants* (Green Bay) as strangers, formerly dwelt on the main land near the middle of this island—some on the borders of Lake Illinois, others on the borders of Lake Huron. A part of them, called *Sauteurs*, had their abode on the main land at the west, and the others looked upon this place as their country for passing the winter, when there are no fish at the Sault. The Hurons, called *Etonontathronnons*, have lived for some years in the same island, to escape the Iriquois. Four villages of Ottawas had also their abode in this quarter.

"It is worthy of notice that those who bore the name of the island, and called themselves Michilimackinac, were so numerous that some of the survivors yet living here assure us that they once had thirty villages, all inclosed in a fortification of a league and a half in circuit, when the Iriquois came and defeated them, inflated by a victory they had gained over three thousand men of that nation, who had carried their hostilities as far as the country of the *Agnichronnons*.

"In one word, the quantity of fish, united with the excellence of the soil for Indian corn, has always been a powerful attraction to the tribes in these regions, of which the greater part subsist only on fish, but some on Indian corn. On this account, many of these same tribes, perceiving that the peace is likely to be established with the Iriquois, have turned their attention to this point, so convenient for a return to their own country and will follow the examples of those who have made a beginning on the islands of Lake Huron, which by this means will soon be peopled from one end to the other, an event highly desirable to facilitate the instruction of the Indian race, whom it would not be necessary to seek by journeys of two or three hundred leagues on these great lakes, with inconceivable danger and hardship.

"In order to aid the execution of the design, signified to

us by many of the savages, of taking up their abode at this point, where some have already passed the winter, hunting in the neighborhood, we ourselves have also wintered here, in order to make arrangements for establishing the Mission of *St. Ignace*, from whence it will be easy to have access to all the Indians of Lake Huron, when the several tribes shall have settled each on its own lands.

"With these advantages, the place has also its inconveniences, particularly for the French, who are not familiar as are the savages, with the different kinds of fishery, in which the latter are trained from their birth; the winds and the tides occasion no small embarrassment to the fishermen.

"The winds: For this is the central point between the three great lakes which surround it, and which seem incessantly tossing ball at each other. For no sooner has the wind ceased blowing from Lake Michigan than Lake Huron hurls back the gale it has received, and Lake Superior in its turn sends forth its blasts from another quarter, and thus the game is played from one to the other; and as these lakes are of vast extent, the winds cannot be otherwise than boisterous, especially during the autumn."

Digressing from the mission of St. Ignace we come to an event connected therewith, at "Sainte Marie du Sault," in the spring and summer of 1671, that was intended for a master stroke of diplomacy. If it had continued for any length of time the results would have been far reaching, so as to have made the French domain permanent in North America. It was a gathering of the tribes and bands from all directions to take part in a general council at the "Sault" to consider a treaty with the representative of the French coast, and to place the Indians under the protection of the king of France.

We quote extracts from "Memoirs of Nicolas Perrot," the

account of that mass meeting, as given by Rev. Chrysostom Verwyst, O. S. F., in "Missionary Labors," etc.:

GREAT MASS-MEETING AT SAULT STE. MARIE IN 1671; NAMES OF THOSE WHO SIGNED THE TREATY; PERROT'S ACCOUNT.

"The treaty was signed in the presence of Dablon,[1] Superior of the mission, and his colleagues, Dreuilletes, Allouez,[2] André of the Society of Jesus; Nicolas Perrot,[3] interpreter; Sieur Jollyet[4]; Jacques Mogras of Three Rivers; Pierre Moreau, the Sieur de la Taupine; Denis Masse; François de Chavigny, Sieur de la Chevrottiere; Jacques Lagillier, Jean Maysere, Nicholas Dupuis, François Bibaud, Jacques Joviel, Pierre Porteret,[5] Robert Duprat, Vital Driol, Guillaume Bonhomme." (Margry, vol. I, p. 97.)

Nicholas Perrot says:[6]

"When the latter had arrived, he asked me if I would like to go to the Outaouas, as interpreter, and conduct there his subdelegate, whom he would place there to take possession of their country. I informed him that I was always ready to

[1] Dablon and Dreuilletes were stationed at the Sault, though Dablon spent a part of the winter of 1670-71 at Mackinac, building a rude bark chapel there.

[2] Allouez and André were stationed at Green Bay, André having charge of the missionary stations at the head of said bay, while Allouez attended the island missions.

[3] Nicolas Perrot, the author of the "Memoire," held several offices under the Canadian government, was "Coureur de bois," interpreter, and kind of governor or commandant at Green Bay, between 1665-1701.

[4] Jollyet accompanied Father Marquette upon his voyage of discovery and exploration down the Mississippi.

[5] Pierre Porteret accompanied Father Marquette on his last journey to the Illinois in 1674, and was present at his death on the eastern shore of Lake Michigan in 1675.

[6] "Memoire," pp. 126-128.

obey him, and offered him my services. I left, therefore, with the Sieur de Saint Lusson, his subdelegate, and we arrived at Montreal, where we remained till the beginning of the month, October (1670). We were obliged on our way to winter with the Amikouets (Beaver Indians). The Saulteurs (Chippewas of Sault Ste. Marie) also wintered at the same place and secured more than two thousand four hundred elks on an island called the 'Island of the Outaouas,' which extends the length of Lake Huron, from the point opposite St. Francis River to that of the Missisakis, going towards Michillimakinak (Manitouline Island). This extraordinary chase was nevertheless only made with snares.

"On the 5th of the month of May, I went to Sault Ste. Marie with the principal chiefs of the Pouteouatamies, Sakis, Puants (Winnebagoes), Malhommis (Menominees). Those of the Foxes, Mascoutechs (Maskoutens), Kikaboos (Kickapoos) and Miamies did not pass the bay (Green Bay). Among them was a man with the name of Tetinchoua, head chief of the Miamies, who, as if he were their king, had day and night in his wigwam forty young men as a body-guard. The village over which he ruled had from four to five thousand braves; in one word he was feared and respected by all his neighbors.

"I found at my arrival, not only the chiefs of the north, but also all the Kiristinons (Crees), Monsonis and whole villages of their neighbors; the chiefs of the Nipissings were there also, besides those of the Amikouets and all of the Saulteurs, who had their settlement in the place itself. The pole was erected in their presence and the arms of France attached to it with the consent of all the tribes, who, not knowing how to write, gave presents as their signatures, declaring in this manner that they placed themselves under the protection and obedience of the king. The Process-Verbal

was drawn up in regard to this act of assuming possession, which I signed as interpreter, with the Sieur de Saint Lusson, subdelegate; the Rev. Missionary Fathers Dablon, Allouez, Dreuilletes and Marquet signed lower down, and below them the French who were trafficking in the various localities. This was done following the instructions given by M. Talon. After that, all those tribes returned each to their country and lived several years without any trouble from one side or the other.

"I forgot to say that the Hurons and Outaouas did not arrive till after the act of taking possession, for they had fled from *Chagouamigon (Chequamegon) on account of having eaten some Sioux, as I have related above. They were informed of what had lately been done, and agreed, like the rest, to all that had been concluded and decided on."

COPY OF THE PROCESS-VERBAL OF THE TAKING POSSESSION OF THE INDIAN COUNTRY.[1]

Preliminary remarks of Father J. Tailhan, S. J., publisher and annotator of Perrot's "Memoire."

"The 'Relation' of 1671 (see text) and La Potherie (II, pp. 128–130) contain many details in regard to this act of taking possession omitted by Perrot, to which the reader is referred. I will merely give here the unpublished Process-Verbal of

*Chagaouamigong, pronounced Sha-ga-wa-mi-gong. To pronounce Indian words, observe that:

a is pronounced like a in father, far.
e is pronounced like a in way, say.
i is pronounced like ee in feel, seen.
o is pronounced like o in own, sown.
ou is pronounced like oo in foot, fool.
French ch is pronounced like sh in she, show.
kw is pronounced like q in queen.

[1] "Memoire," pp. 292-294.

that ceremony, after the somewhat incorrect copy deposited in the archives of the marine.....The passages suppressed and replaced by dots offer no historical interest; they are but simple protocols or useless repetitions."

PROCESS-VERBAL.

"Simon François Daumont, esquire, Sieur de Saint Lusson, commissioned subdelegate of Monseigneur, the Intendant of New France....

"In accordance with the orders we have received from Monseigneur, the Intendant of New France, the 3d of last July....to immediately proceed to the country of the Indian Outaouais, Nez-percez, Illinois, and other nations, discovered and to be discovered, in North America, in the region of Lake Superior or Mer-Douce (Huron), to make there search and discovery of mines of all sorts, especially of copper, ordering us moreover to take possession in the name of the king of all the country, inhabited or not inhabited, through which we may pass....We, in virtue of our commission, have made our first disembarkment at the village or burg of Sainte Marie du Sault, the place where the Rev. Jesuit Fathers make their mission, and where the Indian tribes, called Achipoès, Malamechs, Noguets, and others, make their actual abode. We have convoked there as many other tribes as it was in our power to assemble, and they met there to the number of fourteen tribes, namely the Achipoès,[2] Malamechs,[3] Noguets,[4] Banabeoucks,[5] Makomiteks,[6] Poultéatémis,[7] Oumaloumines,[8] Sassaouacottons,[9] dwelling at the Bay called that of the Puants (Green Bay), and who have taken it upon themselves to make it (treaty) known to their neighbors, who

[2] Chippewas, [3] Merameg, Man-um-aig, "Catfish," [4] Noquets, Nokaig, "Bear Family or Clan," [5] Ne-baun-aub-aig (?), "Merman Clan," [6] Makomiteks (?), [7] Pottawatamies, [8] Menominees, [9] Nassawaketons, "People of the Fork."

are the Illinois,[1] Mascouttins,[2] Outagamis,[3] and other nations; also the Christinos,[4] Assinipouals,[5] Aumossomiks,[6] Outaouais-Couscottons,[7] Niscaks,[8] Maskwikoukiaks,[9] all of them inhabiting the countries of the North and near the sea, who have charged themselves with making it known to their neighbors, who are believed to be in great numbers dwelling near the shores of the same sea. We have caused this, our said commission, to be read to them in the presence of the Rev. Fathers of the Society of Jesus, and of all the Frenchmen named below, and have had it interpreted by Nicolas Perrot, interpreter of His Majesty in this matter, in order that they may not be able (to claim) to be ignorant of it. Having then caused a cross to be erected to produce there the fruits of Christianity, and near it a cedar pole, to which we have attached the arms of France, saying three times with a loud voice and public proclamation, that IN THE NAME OF THE MOST HIGH, MOST POWERFUL, AND MOST REDOUBTABLE MONARCH, LOUIS XIV. OF NAME, MOST CHRISTIAN KING OF FRANCE AND NAVARRE, we take possession of said place, Sainte Marie du Sault, as also of the Lakes Huron and Superior, the Island of Caientaton (Manitouline), and of all other lands, rivers, lakes and streams contiguous to and adjacent here, as well discovered as to be discovered, which are bounded on the one side by the seas of the North and West, and on the other side by the sea of the South, in its whole length or depth, taking up at each of the said three proclamations a sod of earth, crying 'Vive le Roy!' and causing the same to be cried by the whole assembly, as well French as Indians, declaring to the said nations aforesaid and hereafter that

[1] Illinois, [2] Mashkouteng, Muskatine, Muskoda, "Prairie People," [3] Foxes, [4] Crees, [5] Assineboines, "Stonycountry Sioux," [6] Mousoneeg, "Moose," [7] Ottawa Kiskakon (?) or Ataouabouskatouk, a Cree tribe, [8] Kiskakons (?), [9] Maskwakeeg (?), Foxes, or Mikikoueks.

from henceforth they were to be protegees (subjects) of His Majesty, subject to obey his laws and follow his customs, promising them all protection and succor on his part against the incursion and invasion of their enemies, declaring to all other potentates, sovereign princes, as well States as Republics, to them or their subjects, that they neither can nor shall seize upon or dwell in any place of this country, unless with the good pleasure of his said most Christian Majesty, and of him who shall govern the land in his name, under penalty of incurring his hatred and the efforts of his arms. And that none may pretend ignorance of this transaction, we have now attached on the reverse side of the arms of France our Process-Verbal of the taking possession, signed by ourselves and the persons below named, who were all present.

"Done at Sainte Marie du Sault, the 14th day of June, in the year of grace 1671.

"DAUMONT DE SAINT LUSSON."

(Then follow the signatures of the witnesses.)

After the congress at Sault Ste. Marie, Marquette returned with the Indians to "Pointe St. Ignace" of Michilimackinac. No account has been found of his first year's labors at that mission, but in the second year he wrote to Father Dablon, the following, translated from the French. ("Shea's Dis. and Explor. of the Mississippi.")

"REV. FATHER,—The Hurons, called Tionnontateronnons, or Petun Nation, who compose the Mission of St. Ignatius at Michilimackinong, began last year near the chapel a fort inclosing all their cabins. They have come regularly to prayers, and have listened more readily to the instructions I gave them, consenting to what I required to prevent their disorders and abominable customs. We must have patience with untutored minds, who know only the devil, who, like their ancestors, have been his slaves, and who often relapse into

the sins in which they were nurtured. God alone can fix these fickle minds, and place and keep them in His grace, and touch their hearts while we stammer at their ears.

"The Tionnontateronnons number this year three hundred and eighty souls, and besides sixty Outaouasinagaux have joined them. Some of these came from the mission of St. Francis Xavier, where Father Andre wintered with them last year. They are quite changed from what I saw them at Lapointe. The zeal and patience of that missionary have gained to the faith those hearts which seemed to us most averse to it. They now wish to be Christians; they bring their children to the chapel to be baptized, and come regularly to prayers.

"Having been obliged to go to St. Marie du Sault with Father Allouez last summer, the Hurons came to the chapel during my absence as regularly as if I had been there, the girls singing what prayers they knew. They counted the days of my absence, and constantly asked when I was to be back. I was absent only fourteen days, and on my arrival all assembled at chapel, some coming even from their fields, which are at a very considerable distance.

"I went readily to their pumpkin feast, where I instructed them, and invited them to thank God, who gave them food in plenty, while other tribes that had not yet embraced Christianity were actually struggling with famine. I ridiculed dreams, and urged those who had been baptized to acknowledge Him whose adopted children they were. Those who gave the feast, though still idolaters, spoke in high terms of Christianity, and openly made the sign of the cross before all present. Some young men, whom they had tried by ridicule to prevent from doing it, persevered, and make the sign of the cross in the greatest assemblies, even when I am not present.

"An Indian of distinction among the Hurons, having invited me to a feast where the chiefs were, called them severally by name, and told them that he wished to declare his thoughts, that all might know it, namely, that he was a Christian; that he renounced the god of dreams and all their lewd dances; that the black-gown was master of his cabin; and that for nothing that might happen would he forsake his resolution. Delighted to hear this, I spoke more strongly than I had ever yet done, telling that my only design was to put them in the way of heaven; that for this alone I remained among them; that this obliged me to assist them at the peril of my life. As soon as anything is said in an assembly, it is immediately divulged through all the cabins, as I saw in this case by the assiduity of some in coming to prayers, and by the malicious efforts of others to neutralize my instructions.

"Severe as the winter is, it does not prevent the Indians from coming to the chapel. Some come twice a day, be the wind or cold what it may. Last fall I began to instruct some to make general confessions of their whole life, and to prepare others who had never confessed since their baptism. I would not have supposed that Indians could have given so exact an account of all that had happened in the course of their life; but it was seriously done, as some took two weeks to examine themselves. Since then I have perceived a marked change; so that they will not go even to ordinary feasts without asking my permission.

"I have this year baptized twenty-eight children, one of which had been brought from Ste. Marie du Sault, without having received that sacrament, as the Rev. F. Henry Nouvel informed me, to put me on my guard. Without my knowing it, the child fell sick; but God permitted that, while instructing in my cabin two important and sensible Indians, one asked me whether such a sick child was baptized. I

went at once, baptized it, and it died the next night. Some of the other children, too, are dead, and now in heaven. These are the consolations which God sends us, which make us esteem our life more happy as it is more wretched.

"This, father, is all I have to give about this mission, where minds are now more mild, tractable, and better disposed to receive instruction, than in any other part. I am ready, however, to leave it in the hands of another missionary to go on your order to seek new nations toward the South Sea who are still unknown to us, and to teach them of our great God, whom they have hitherto unknown."

The French shared with others the idea of the Mississippi flowing into the Gulf of California, and in that way they could find a short passage to China.

In 1672 Louis de Buade, Comte de Frontenac, succeeded M. de Courcelles as governor of Canada. As soon as he arrived, M. Talon, the Intendant, laid before him the plan of exploring the Mississippi River. For this great undertaking they chose the Sieur Jollyet, wishing to have Father Marquette accompany him. On the 8th of December, 1672, feast of the Immaculate Conception, Jollyet arrived at St. Ignace, Mackinac, and told Father Marquette the joyful news of their appointment to visit and explore the Mississippi. The pious missionary was glad. For years he had longed for an opportunity to visit the "Great River." Ever since he had come to the Ottawa country he had invoked Mary Immaculate to obtain the grace for him to be able to visit the nations on the Mississippi. Now his prayer was about to be heard. He placed his intended voyage under the special protection of the Immaculate Mother of God, promising her that, should he be so happy as to discover the great river, he would call it Conception River and give the same name to the first Mission he would found among the Illinois. Five Frenchmen volun-

teered to share with Marquette and Jollyet the hardships and dangers of so glorious an enterprise. The winter of 1672–3 was spent in making the necessary preparations and collecting information from the Indians. They drew up a map, on which they marked the course of the rivers they were to navigate, the names of the tribes and localities through which they were to pass, the course of the great river.

The following, from Marquette's own narrative, is published by Shea:

"The day of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, whom I had always invoked since I have been in this Ottawa country, to obtain of God the grace to be able to visit the nations on the river Mississippi, was identically that on which M. Joliet arrived with orders of the Comte de Frontenac, our governor, and M. Talon, our intendant, to make this discovery with me. I was the more enraptured at this good news, as I saw my designs on the point of being accomplished, and myself in the happy necessity of exposing my life for the salvation of all these nations, and particularly for the Illinois, who had, when I was at Lapointe du St. Esprit, very earnestly entreated me to carry the word of God to their country.

"We were not long in preparing our outfit, although we were embarking on a voyage the duration of which we could not foresee. Indian corn, with some dried meat, was our whole stock of provisions. With this, we set out in two bark canoes—M. Joliet, myself, and five men—firmly resolved to do all and suffer all for so glorious an enterprise.

"It was on the 17th of May, 1673, that we started from the Mission of St. Ignatius, at Michilimackinac, where I then was. Our joy at being chosen for this expedition roused our courage, and sweetened the labor of rowing from morning till night. As we were going to seek unknown countries, we

took all possible precautions, that, if our enterprise was hazardous, it should not be foolhardy. For this reason we gathered all possible information from Indians who had frequented those parts, and even from their accounts traced a map of all the new country, marking down the rivers on which we were to sail, the names of the nations and places through which we were to pass, the course of the Great River, and what direction we should take when we got to it.

"Above all, I put our voyage under the protection of the Blessed Virgin Immaculate, promising her, that if she did us the grace to discover the Great River, I would give it the name of Conception; and that I would also give that name to the first mission which I should establish among these new nations, as I have actually done among the Illinois.

"With all these precautions, we made our paddles play merrily over a part of Lake Huron, and that of the Illinois, into the Bay of the Fetid (Green Bay). The first nation that we met was that of the Wild Oats (English, wild rice). I entered their river (Menomonie) to visit them, as we have preached the gospel to these tribes for some years past, so that there are many good Christians among them.

"I informed these people of the Wild Oats of my design of going to discover distant nations to instruct them in the mysteries of our holy religion; they were very much surprised, and did their best to dissuade me. They told me that I would meet nations that never spare strangers, but tomahawk them without any provocation; that the war which had broken out among various nations on our route, exposed us to another evident danger—that of being killed by the war-parties which are constantly in the field; that the Great River is very dangerous, unless the difficult parts are known; that it was full of frightful monsters, who swallowed up men and canoes together; that there is even a demon there who

can be heard from afar, who stops the passage and ingulfs all who dare approach; lastly, that the heat is so excessive in those countries that it would infallibly cause our death.

"I thanked them for their kind advice, but assured them that I could not follow it, as the salvation of souls was concerned; that for them I should be too happy to lay down my life; that I made light of their pretended demon, that we would defend ourselves well enough against the river monsters, and besides, we should be on our guard to avoid the other dangers with which they threatened us."

The following extracts are from "Memoirs of Pere James Marquette," by John R. Bailey, M. D., A. A. Surgeon, U. S. Army. Published by direction of the "Marquette Monument Association," Mackinac, Mich., July 17, 1878:

"Leaving the bay they enter Fox River, about 260 miles long, where there are many birds feeding on wild oats. Advancing up the river they passed the rapids and approached Maskoutens, where they arrived June 7, 1673.

"June 10. Taking two Algonquin guides they started for a river, the "Misconsing" (Wisconsin), three leagues off, that emptied into the Mississippi. The guides took them safely to a portage twenty seven hundred paces long, and helped to transport their canoes to the river and returned home. * * *

"They sailed down the broad Wisconsin past alternate prairies and hillsides towards the great river Mississippi, which they entered June 17, with a joy that could not be expressed. Here the two birch bark canoes raised their happy sails to unknown breezes and floated down the ocean stream, through prairies and forests, often meeting with the wild Illinois, Shawnees, Sioux and Chickasas (Marquette carrying the cross before him), frequently stopping to smoke the calumet, and always striving to convert these strange

1673.

people to the worship of the true Manitou and the Catholic faith.

"They reached the Now-in-gon-e-na (Des Moines), where Marquette stayed six days and published to the Illinois the true God, their Creator.

"Their great chief hung around Marquette the sacred calumet, which was the amulet of peace to all savage nations.

"The little group proceeded onward. * * * "They passed the Missouri and in less than forty leagues floated past the Ohio to latitude 33,° where near the west bank of the 'great river,' stood the village of Michigamea. * * * * The next day ten men, in a wooden canoe, escorted the discoverers ten leagues to the village of Akansea below the mouth of the Arkansas river (opposite the mouth of that river), the end of their voyage." The fear of the Spaniards, and other causes, prevented the continuance of their discoveries. * * * Marquette and Joliet left Akansea July 17, 1673, and ascended the Mississippi.

"In latitude 38° 30′ they entered the river Illinois. * * * A young chief conducted the party by way of the Illinois to Lake Michigan. In September all were safe in (the mission of St. Francis Xavier) Green Bay.

"Joliet returned to Quebec and announced the discovery whilst Marquette remained to preach the gospel to the Indians. Being often sick with dysentery, and in feeble health, he remained at the Green Bay mission until October 25, 1674, when he sailed for Chicago. Reaching that river, after suffering from much sickness and delays 'he was received as an angel from heaven.' Here he remained only a few months, imparting the gospel to the red men. May 18, 1675, his strength failing, he resolved to sail to the mission of St. Ignatius, Michilimackinac, and recruit his health in that salubrious clime.

"On the route he entered a little river in Michigan, and Bancroft says: 'Erecting an altar, he said Mass after the rites of the Catholic Church, then begging the men who conducted his canoe to leave him alone for half an hour:

> "'In the darkling wood,
> Amidst cool and silence he knelt down,
> And offered to the mightiest, solemn thanks
> And supplication.

"'At the end of half an hour they went to seek him and he was no more. The good missionary, discoverer of a world, had fallen asleep on the margin of the stream that bears his name. Near its mouth the canoemen dug his grave in the sand. Ever after the forest rangers, if in danger on Lake Michigan, would invoke his name. The people of the west will build his monument.'"

Pere Jacques Marquette was born, "in the city of Laon, in the Department of Aisne, France, in the year 1637. * * * During the War of the Revolution three of the Marquettes died here, in the French army. Of the valor of the family there is no doubt. * * * Thus at the age of 38, May 19, 1675, in the height of his fame and glory, was the good priest taken away from earth to fill a brighter sphere in some celestial space. He was twenty-one years in the Society of Jesus —twelve in France and nine in America.

"God did not suffer the remains of Marquette to be forgotten. Two years later, on the anniversary of his death, the Kiskakon Indians (Algonquins), and a number of Iroquois repaired to the spot and disinterred his body. Cleaning the bones, they placed them in a neat box of birch bark and conveyed them to Point St. Ignace.

"The convoy consisted of thirty canoes. As they approached the mission of St. Ignace, 'Missilimackinac,' Fathers Nouvel and Pierson met them and intoned the 'De

Profundis,' in the sight of all the people, before landing. The body remained in state, in the church, all day Whitsun-Monday, June 8, 1677, and the next day was deposited with funeral honors in the little vault under the church, where he now reposes, the 'guardian angel of the Ottawa Missions,' opposite the beautiful island of Mackinac, the home of the 'Great Manitou,' and of the 'spirits' whom the Indians delighted to worship.

"May 4, 1877. The foundations of the old church were discovered on private claim No. 19, Mr. David Murray's property, at Point St. Ignace, and September 3, 1877, a part of the remains of Marquette, in the vault, inclosed in the bark casket described. * * *

"Now let the people of America and Europe unite without distinction of race, creed or sect, and build a shapely monument to the great and good missionary, whose fame and Christian virtues we can only emulate. Mackinac, Mich., July 17, 1878."

One thousand copies of the memoir were ordered printed and distributed by the monument association at their first meeting on Michilimackinac Island, August 8, 1878.

1673. The year that Marquette embarked on his voyage of discovery, the French established a palisaded fort at Pointe St. Ignace. It was situated on an elevation in rear of the church facing the bay, and was surrounded by a trench and stockade of cedar pickets. The outlines of the trench are visible to this day, and helped to verify in 1878, the site of the old church and Marquette's grave, where the modern monument now stands. It was soon after garrisoned by French regulars in addition to the militia force. That was the first Fort Michilimackinac and must be the one (re-gar-

risoned) after the Jesuits burned the church, abandoned the mission in 1705 and returned to Quebec.

Marquette, as before stated, passed the winter of 1670–71 on Mackinac Island (with Father Dablon, who was there in 1669), laying the foundation of the St. Ignace mission (Rel. 1670–71, p. 144).

In June, 1671, the Tionnontate Hurons arrived at St. Ignace from Chagaouamigong Bay, Lake Superior. That year the Manitoulin Ottawas procured a supply of arms and powder from Montreal. In the fall they started on the war path to fight the Sioux ("Nadouis-Sioux, the enemies"). At St. Ignace the Hurons joined them, and at Green Bay the Potawottomies and Sacs and Foxes. Numbering 1,000 braves they passed through "Ouisconsin," to the St. Croix valley, and boldly attacked the Sioux. Repulsed, with great loss, and forced to retreat, in the snow, toward the straits, their flight was covered by the Hurons, who bravely defended the rear losing many of their warriors. In the spring of 1673 Marquette states there were only 380 Huron souls and about sixty Ottawas had lately joined them.

According to La Hontan, the Huron village and palisaded fort, constructed in 1672, was on the level ground around the middle of East Moran Bay, and continued there until that tribe, with other bands, about 1702, left for Detroit. He says, the "Ottawas fearing trouble with the Hurons began to fortify the neighboring bluff," north and back of what is now, 1895, Cliffside and vicinity. There are remains there of an earth-work, supposed to be of Indian origin, and many of their spear-heads, flints, stone hammers and other relics, have been found thereabouts. On these premises at Cliffside, St. Ignace, there is, in an enclosure of seven acres, all the natural scenery (except the arched rock), that can be found

on Mackinac Island. In the yard, near the dwelling, there is a rock of the same formation as the island Sugar Loaf, but not quite as broad at the base. It is the Temple or Ghost rock—"Gebi-wau-beek" (or "Chete")—of the Indians, and in front there is a flattened projection—their altar—where the savages were wont to worship and perform sacrifices. The credulous natives say the spirits still linger there, but we have never been able to see them.

After the departure of Marquette and Joliet from St. Ignace, Fathers Henry Nouvel and Phillip Pierson erected a more substantial log church and residence, protected by a palisade enclosure, twenty-five feet high.

In the spring of 1673 several bands, Ottawas and others, Algonquins, arrived and settled about Rabbit's Back, on the shores of Lake Huron. At that place, a little over two miles from the Huron settlement and church, another church, roofed with bark, was built. In 1677 there were 1,300 souls at that mission ("Algonquin Village") the principal band being Kishkakons.

In 1677, or before, a new "Ottawa Village" was started between Point La Barbe and Gros-Cap, by the arrival of other bands of Algonquins. Near them a log chapel was built, the church of "St. Francis Borgia," Father Nouvel in charge. During the winter of 1677-8, Father Enjalran lived, with Father Nouvel, in a rude wigwam adjoining the chapel. In 1699 there were fifteen hundred (1,500) souls in that village. All Indian villages about the straits, unless fortified, were generally strung along the beach, in one or two lines, near or convenient to the water. That year Buisson de St. Côme (Missionary) and Henry de Tonty visited them. They walked through the portage to Gros-Cap, and sent their canoes around the point. St. Côme was on a journey by way of Michili-

mackinac, to the Lower Mississippi, and mentions these facts in his journal.

From the time Father Allouez passed through the straits in 1699, en route to Green Bay (and visited Mackinac Island), the population of "Point Iroquois" (St Ignace) was floating and not permanent until the mission was established. From November 5 to 11, 1699, Allouez was wind-bound on Little St. Martin's Island. He crossed, "St. Martin's Day," to the main land, by way of Big St. Martin's Island, after the storm abated. Then he met some Indians and two Frenchmen, who tried to persuade him not to go to Green Bay so late in the season. (See Journal of Allouez, "Relations.") Father Dablon, Superior of the Jesuits, selected Point St. Ignace for a mission, by reason of its position and superior advantages for defense, productive soil, game and fish.

In the spring of 1677 Father Nouvel took charge of the Ottawas and Father Pierson retained the Huron part of the mission of St. Ignace. Year after year there are the same movements of the bands of restless savages, and the annual trips to and fro of the French fur traders and Indians for the market at Montreal.

THE "GRIFFON."
The First Vessel on the Upper Lakes. Built by La Salle, 1679.

1679. LA SALLE AND HENNEPIN.—VOYAGE OF THE "GRIFFON."

During the expedition of Marquette and Jolliet, both kept journals. Jolliet's was lost by the upsetting of his canoe in the St. Lawrence rapids, 1674, on his return to Quebec. The fame of their discovery fired the minds of the sanguine Frenchmen. Robert Cavalier de la Salle, in command at Fort Frontenac ("Kingston") obtained a concession from Count Frontenac, and with his approval, another from the French King, which allowed him the exclusive trade in buffalo skins and all other articles (excepting the fur trade of the lakes), in the territory to be discovered.

Late in November he sailed from Fort Frontenac, in a ten-ton vessel, fully equipped, with Tonty and a corps of mechan-

ics and marines, across Lake Erie to ("Onghiara") Niagara Falls. Here they disembarked near the foot of the Falls and carried their merchandise, anchors, chains and provisions above the cataract, making a portage of at least twelve miles. That took them to where the current was less rapid. The thick forests, rugged heights, and deep snows caused this work to be delayed until the 22d of January, 1679. During the rest of the winter and early summer they built, at the mouth of "Cayuga" creek, a sixty-ton vessel, the "Griffon." Here Father Louis Hennepin, who had been appointed acting missionary of the expedition, and two other monks of the Franciscan order joined them.

All being ready, whilst cannon were fired and the Te Deum chanted, on the 7th of August, 1679, the little craft unfurled her sails and swept boldly out on Lake Erie. There were thirty-four men all told on board, most of them fur-traders for the Mississippi valley.

In three days they made the length of the lake, over waters that had never before been sailed by so large a ship, and rounded northward "between the verdant isles of the majestic Detroit." On either side of the strait was an ever-varying panorama to delight the eye. Groves of trees and intervening prairies, forests of maple, beech, walnut, chestnut, oak and wild plum, with grape vines twining through their branches. There were herds of wild deer, bear and beasts of unknown name; flocks of wild turkeys, quail, grouse and other land and water fowl that made Hennepin, enraptured, exclaim how "extraordinarily relishing."

Detroit was then a wilderness, unsettled by white men. Up the river they sailed, and enter and cross the shallow St. Clair lake. And thence up through the next strait, and into broad Lake Huron.

Again they chant the Te Deum and offer thanks to Almighty God for their prosperity. Gentle breezes waft them onward until they near the boisterous "Sagina," when they encounter a fierce gale that threatened to swallow the little ship and crew. The fury of the tempest made even La Salle quake with fear and call on all to commend themselves to heaven. But the godless pilot anathematized his commander "for having brought him after the honor he had won on the ocean, to drown at last, ignominiously, in fresh water." They all clamored to the saints, and with La Salle and Hennepin, proclaimed "St. Anthony" their patron. The winds abated and the vessel "plunged on her way through foaming surges that still grew calmer as she advanced."

Thunder Bay was passed, and soon to the left the island of "Bois Blanc" (white wood) came in view, and on the right (east) in the dim distance, could be outlined the Manitoulins of Georgian Bay. Onward they sailed, and turning the foot of Bois Blanc, in front of them, to the westward, up looms a highland ahead, "sitting like an emerald gem in the clear, pellucid wave, is the rock-girt fairy isle of Michilimackinac." In the back ground, to the northward, is the Mission of St. Ignatius, nestling at the head of a small narrow bay, where they soon come to anchor near by.

The following is Hennepin's:* "The 27th, 1679, in the morning, we continued our course northwest, with a southeast wind, which carried us the same day to Michilimackinac, where we anchored in a bay at six fathom water, upon a shiny white bottom. That bay is sheltered by the coast and a bank

* Laluman says Hennepin was "Daring, vain, and determined, ambitious to reap the glory of discovery and not too scrupulous as to the means."

lying from the southwest to the north; but it lies exposed to the south winds, which are very violent in that country.

"Michilimackinac is a neck of land to the north of the mouth of the strait through which the Lake of the Illinois discharges itself into the Lake Huron. That canal is about three leagues long and one broad.....

"We lay between two different nations of savages. Those who inhabit the Point of Michilimackinac are called Hurons; and the others, who are about three or four leagues more northward, are Ottawas. Those savages were equally surprised to see a ship in their country; and the noise of our cannon, of which we made a general discharge, filled them with great astonishment. We went to see the Ottawas, and celebrated mass in their habitation. M. La Salle was finely dressed, having a scarlet cloak with a broad gold lace, and most of his men, with their arms, attended him. The chief captains of that people received us with great civilities, after their own way, and some of them came on board with us to see our ship, which rode all that while in the bay or creek I have spoken of. It was a diverting prospect to see, every day, above six score canoes about it, and savages staring and admiring that fine wooden canoe, as they called it. They brought us abundance of whitings, and some trouts of fifty or sixty pound weight.

"We went the next day to pay a visit to the Hurons, who inhabit a rising ground on a neck of land over against Michilimackinac. Their villages are fortified with palisades of twenty-five feet high, and always situated upon eminences or hills. They received us with more respect than the Ottawas; for they made a triple discharge of all the small guns they had, having learned from some Europeans that it is the greatest civility among us. However, they took such a

jealousy to our ship that, as we understood since, they endeavored to make our expedition odious to all the nations about them.

"The Hurons and Ottawas are in confederacy together against the Iroquois, their common enemy. They sow Indian corn, which is their ordinary food; for they have nothing else to live upon, except some fish they take in the lakes. They boil it with their sagamittee, which is a kind of broth made with water and the flour of the corn, which they beat in a mortar made of the trunk of a tree, which they make hollow with fire."

From Van Fleet: "La Salle remained at Mackinac until the second day of September, when he set sail for Green Bay. At this point, contrary to orders, he collected a cargo of furs, with which he dispatched the *Griffin* to Niagara, while he himself, with a part of his men, repaired in bark canoes to the head of Lake Michigan. Here he anxiously awaited the return of his little vessel; but, alas! he waited in vain. No tidings ever reached him of the ill-fated bark; and to this day none can tell whether she was swallowed in the depths of the lake, destroyed by Indians, or made the prize of traitors.

"The loss of the *Griffin* was a very severe stroke upon La Salle; yet he was not discouraged. With inflexible energy, he pursued his course. From Lake Michigan he proceeded into the country of the Illinois, where he wintered. Early in the following Spring he dispatched Hennepin to discover the sources of the Mississippi,* while he himself returned to Canada for new supplies, made necessary by the loss of the *Griffin*. In 1681, he returned; and in 1682, having con-

*Hennepin ascended the river to St. Anthony's Falls in the spring of 1680. He winter 1680–81 at St. Ignace with Sieur du Lhut (Duluth).

structed a vessel of a size suitable for the purpose, he descended the Mississippi to the Gulf.

"Having completed the exploration of the Great River, his next step was to plant colonies along its banks; for which purpose he labored, but with only partial success, until 1687, when he was assassinated by one of his own men."

Taking the testimony of Holmes's "American Annals," this fort or trading-post was first established in 1673. Of the early history of this place, subsequent to La Salle's visit, we have only information gathered from the notices and writings of travelers and others.

In 1688, Baron La Hontan, an officer of rare accomplishments, visited this point, and from him we have the following:

"At last, finding that my provisions were almost out, I resolved to go to Michilimackinac, to buy up corn from the Hurons and Ottawas.....I arrived at this place on the 18th of April, and my uneasiness and trouble took date from the day of my arrival; for I found the Indian corn so scarce, by reason of the preceding bad harvests, that I despaired of finding half so much as I wanted. But, after all, I am hopeful that two villages will furnish me with almost as much as I have occasion for. Mr. Cavalier arrived here, May 6th, being accompanied with his nephew, Father Anastase the Recollect, a pilot, one of the savages, and some few Frenchmen, which made a sort of a party-colored retinue. These Frenchmen were some of those that Mr. de la Salle had conducted upon the discovery of the Mississippi. They gave out that they are sent to Canada, in order to go to France, with some dispatches from Mr. de la Salle to the King; but we suspect that he is dead, because he does not return along with them. I shall not spend time in taking notice of their great journey

overland; which, by the account they gave, can not be less than eight hundred leagues.

"Michilimackinac, the place I am now in, is certainly a place of great importance. It lies in the latitude of forty-five degrees and thirty minutes. It is not above half a league distant from the Illinese Lake, an account of which, and, indeed, of all the other lakes, you may expect elsewhere. Here the Hurons and Ottawas have, each of them, a village; the one being severed from the other by a single palisade; but the Ottawas are beginning to build a fort upon a hill that stands ten or twelve hundred paces off. This precaution they were prompted to by the murder of a certain Huron, called Sandaouires, who was assassinated in the Saginaw River by four young Ottawas. In this place the Jesuits have a little house or college, adjoining to a sort of a church, and inclosed with poles that separate it from the village of the Hurons. These good fathers lavish away all their divinity and patience, to no purpose, in converting such ignorant infidels; for all the length they can bring them to, is, that oftentimes they will desire baptism for their dying children, and some few superannuated persons consent to receive the sacrament of baptism when they find themselves at the point of death. The *Coureurs de Bois* have but a very small settlement here; though at the same time it is not inconsiderable, as being the staple of all the goods that they truck with the south and the west savages; for they can not avoid passing this way, when they go to the seats of the Illinese and the Oumamis, or to the Bay des Puans, and to the river of Mississippi. The skins, which they import from these different places, must lie here some time before they are transported to the colony. Michilimackinac is situated very advantageously; for the Iroquese dare not venture, with their sorry canoes, to

cross the strait of the Illinese Lake, which is two leagues over; besides that the Lake of the Hurons is too rough for such slender boats; and as they can not come to it by water, so they can not approach to it by land, by reason of the marshes, fens, and little rivers, which it would be very difficult to cross; not to mention that the strait of the Illinese Lake lies still in their way."

La Hontan afterwards made a map showing the French and Indian villages, and the Jesuit establishment as they were in 1688.

In 1695, M. de la Motte Cadillac, who founded Detroit, commanded at this post. He thus describes the place:

"It is very important that you should know, in case you are not already informed, that this village is one of the largest in all Canada. There is a fine fort of pickets, and sixty houses that form a street in a straight line. There is a garrison of well-disciplined, chosen soldiers, consisting of about two hundred men, the best formed and most athletic to be found in this New World; besides many other persons who are residents here during two or three months in the year. . . . The houses are arranged along the shore of this great Lake Huron, and fish and smoked meat constitute the principal food of the inhabitants.

"The villages of the savages, in which there are six or seven thousand souls, are about a pistol-shot distant from ours. All the lands are cleared for about three leagues around their village, and perfectly well cultivated. They produce a sufficient quantity of Indian corn for the use of both the French and savage inhabitants." *

"In 1699, Cadillac, perceiving the importance of a fort on the Detroit, repaired to France to present the subject to the

* Van Fleet's Old and New Mackinac.

consideration of Count Pontchartrain, the Colonial Minister. He was favorably received, and authorized to establish the proposed fort at the earliest date possible. This he accomplished in 1701.

"With the exception of here and there a Jesuit missionary and a few half-savage *coureurs de bois*, the region around Mackinac was now forsaken by the French.

"A dispute soon arose between Cadillac and the Jesuits, the former insisting upon a concentration of French interests in the West, at Detroit, the latter urging the French Government to re-establish Mackinac. The Jesuits did all in their power to prevent the Indians removing to Detroit, while Cadillac held out every inducement to prevail upon them to desert their villages and settle in the vicinity of the new fort, and so far succeeded that, in 1705, as we have seen, the Jesuits became discouraged, burned down their college and chapel, and returned to Quebec. But, alarmed at this step, the Governor soon prevailed upon Father James Marest to return; and shortly after the Ottawas, who were becoming dissatisfied at Detroit, began to move back to Mackinac.

"Father Marest now did all in his power to prevail upon the French Government to send M. Louvigny, a former commander, with a few soldiers, to re-establish the fort, but did not succeed until 1714, when the long wished for garrison and commander arrived, giving new life to the settlement."

In 1721 Father Charlevoix was at Michilimackinac and thus writes of it:

"I arrived the twenty-eighth (June) at this post, which is much declined since M. de la Motte Cadillac drew to Detroit the greater part of the savages who were settled here, and especially the Hurons. Several Ottawas have followed them; others have dispersed themselves in the isles of Castor. There

is only here a middling village, where there is still a great trade for peltry, because it is the passage or the rendezvous of many of the savage nations. The fort is preserved and the house of the missionaries, who are not much employed at present, having never found much docility among the Ottawas; but the court thinks their presence necessary, in a place where one must often treat with our allies, to exercise their ministry among the French, who come hither in great numbers. I have been assured that since the settlement of Detroit and the dispersion of the savages occasioned thereby, many nations of the North, who used to bring their peltries hither, have taken the route of Hudson's Bay, by the river Bourbon, and go there to trade with the English; but M. de la Motte could by no means foresee this inconvenience, since we were then in possession of Hudson's Bay.

"The situation of Michilimackinac is very advantageous for trade. This post is between three great lakes. Lake Michigan, which is three hundred leagues in compass, without mentioning the great bay that comes into it; Lake Huron, which is three hundred and fifty leagues in circumference, and which is triangular; and the Upper Lake, which is five hundred leagues."

Charlevoix, at the time of this visit, 1721, apparently describes the post and settlement of North Michilimackinac (St. Ignace), as he says: "The fort is preserved, and the house of the missionaries," but does not allude to the church, as that was burned in 1705. The movement to South Michilimackinac must have been gradual up to 1760, when the Province of Michilimackinac was transferred to the English.

In 1681 LaSalle, on his second voyage to the Mississippi, passes by way of St. Ignace. Then M. de Villeray was commandant at Fort Michilimackinac.

On account of Iroquois invasions the fur trade greatly declined in 1683.

1684. M. de la Durantaye is commanding at "Missilimackinac." He leads French and Indian forces, allied with Ottawas, in LaBarre's disastrous attack on the Iroquois.

In 1688 Machilmackinac is the commercial and military center of the northwest. That year Nicolas Perrot arrived and persuaded the Ottawas and Fox tribe (of Green Bay), to make peace. Perrot rescued the daughter of a Chippewa chief, whom the Foxes intended to burn at the stake and returned her to her father.

1686. Many of the Indian bands favor the English and are inclined to unite with them and the Iroquois. The French had only a small force in the province of Michilimackinac, at that time, and having met with some reverses, the Indians, quick to discern, thought the English were better able to protect and provide for them. Their ideas of prowess was favored by the arrival of merchants and traders, from the province of New York, to buy furs, and whatever they had for sale. They were liberal, paid large prices for pelts, and supplied the tribes with liquor. All this was done with the knowledge, and connivance of Gov. Dougan, at Albany. A few extracts from Doc. Hist. of New York will partly show the situation:

"M. DE MEULLES TO THE MINISTER."

"My Lord * * * ("Paris Doc. ii"). "What Indians there were evidenced the best disposition to fight the Iroquois to the death. Sieur de la Durantaye who brought the last six hundred men from Missilimakinak has informed us that he learned from a Miami chief that more than one thousand Illinois were coming to our aid on learning that we

were about to fight the Iroquois, to such a degree are they their irreconcilable enemies:"

* * * "Quebec, the 10th 8ber, 1684." (Vol. 1, pp. 120, 127.) "Demeulles."

"GOV. DOUGAN'S REPORT."

"To the committee of trade on the Province of New York, Dated the 22nd February, 1687."

("Lond. Doc. v.")

"My Lords" * * *

"The great difference between us is about the beaver trade and in truth they have the advantage of us in it @ that by noe other meanes than by their industry in making discoveries in the country before us. "Before my coming hither noe man of my Government ever went beyond the Sinicaes country. Last year some of our people went a trading among the farr Indians called the Ottowais inhabiting about three months journey to the West @ W. N. W. of Albany from whence they brought a good many Beavers. They found their people more inclined to trade with them than the French the French not being able to protect them from the arms of our Indians, with whom they have had a continued war. Soe that our Indians brought away this very last year, a great many prisoners.

"Last week I sent some of our Indians to New York where when they came I obtained a promise from them that some of themselves would goe along with such of our people as goe from Albany and Esopus to these far nations @ carry with them the captives they have prisoners in order to the restoring them to their liberty @ bury their hatchetts with those of their enemys by which means a path may be opened for those farr Indians to come with safety to trade at Albany, and our

people goe thither without any let or disturbance." (Vol. 1, pp. 156–7.) * * *

"It will be very necessary for us to encourage our young men to goe a Beaver Hunting as the French doe (p. 158). I send a map by Mr. Spragg whereby your Lords may see the several Governmts &c how they lye where the Beaver hunting is @ where it will be necessary to erect our country Forts for the securing of beaver trade @ keeping the Indians in community with us.

"Alsoe it points out where theres a great river discovered by one Lassal a Frenchman from Canada who thereupon went into France @ and as its reported brought two or three vessels with people to settle there which (if true) will prove not only very inconvenient to us but to the Spanish alsoe (the river running all along from our lakes by the back of Virginia @ Carolina into the Bay Mexico) @ its beleeved Nova Mexico can not bee far from the mountains adjoining to it that place being in 36d North Latitude if your Lops. thought it fit I could send a sloop or two from this place to discover that river." (p. 158). * * * "Theo. Dougan." (p. 187).

"Memoirs Concerning The Present State of Canada. And The Measures That May Be Adopted For The Security Of The Country, 12 November 1685 (Extract) (Paris Doc. iii)" (p. 196).

"The most to be feared is the Iroquois who are the most powerful in consequence of the facility with which they obtain arms from the English, and the number of slaves they make daily among their neighbors by carrying away at an early age their children, whom they adopt; this is the only means of their increase, for this their debaucheries of Brandy which lead them into frightful disorders, the few children their

women raise could not of themselves sustain them, if they did not make prisoners." (p. 196). * * *

"The importance of the post to be occupied on Lake Erie is easily perceived, since we can easily go in vessels from the lake to Missilimakina which would be a great facility for the trade of the country, to keep the Outaouacs in check and in obedience to the King; besides, we should have the means of reaching through this lake to Illinois, and surmount by this communication with ships many of the difficulties experienced in the rivers in consequence of the number of portages. Being masters of these two lakes and cruizing then with our vessels, the English would lose the Beaver trade in that quarter, of which they have abundance."

"A durable peace with the Iroquois Indians would be more advantageous to the colony than prosecuting a war;" * * * (p. 198). "Chevalier de Tonty" is commanding the fort in behalf of "M. de Lasalle," who has great influence with the Illinois. "M. de Ladurantaye" is sent to Lake Superior under orders from "M. de Labarre" and to "Sieur Duluth," who is a a great distance, beyond reach, so that neither can have news before next year, in July, and, many of their best men were with the Outaouacs.

"It is, also, necessary to reconcile six tribes of our allie's, that are at war with each other, before making use of them. (p. 199). "I sent presents and instructions to M. Ladurataye to collect our" (p. 200) "French and put himself at their head, in order to support his reasoning and to have more authority to reconcile them in concert with Father Angeblau Jesuit Missionary at Missilimakina." * * *. (p. 201.) However, arrangements are not easily made "to secure punctuality," "since from the Illinois country there are four hundred leagues;" and from the Outaouacs and Sav-

ages of Lake Superior, three hundred leagues, and from Quebec nearly two hundred, to the said place of Niagara." * * * * (p. 202.)

"M. DE. DENONVILLE TO THE MINISTER. 8 MAY, 1686."

(Paris Doc. iii.)

"I learn that the news that I had the honor to send you of the appearance on Lakes Ontario and Erie of English Canoes accompanied by French Deserters on their way to the Outaouacs is true. There are ten of them loaded with merchandize. Therefore, my Lord, I sent orders to Missilinakina, to Catarokony and other places where we had Frenchmen, to run and seize them." (p 203.) * * *

"In regard, my Lord, as of primary importance the prohibition of this trade with the English, who without doubt, would entirely ruin ours by the cheaper bargains they could give the Indians and by attracting to them the Frenchmen of our Colony who are accustomed to go into the woods." * * * "I am pursuaded that the Iroquois are very anxious for peace." * * * "What I should consider most effectual to accomplish this would be the establishment of a right good fort at Niagara." * * *

"M. DE. DENONVILLE TO GOV. DOUGAN."

("Paris Doc. iii, p 211.")

* * * (Ext) "You are not ignorant of the expedition of your merchants against Michilimaquina."

* * * * * *

M. De Denonville's Memoir, (p 213.)

On the Present State of Affairs In Canada And The Necessity Of Making War Next Year On The Iroquois.

(Paris Doc. iii.)

Quebec the 8th O'ber. 1686.

(Extract) "I annex to this Memoir, the duplicate of the letter of June last in which I advised My lord of the expedition of the Iroquois against our allies the Hurons and Ottawas of Missilimakina in the Saguinau. I have learned since that the English had more to do with that expedition than even the Iroquois who struck the blow. Their intrigues, My lord, reach a point that without doubt it would be much better that they should have recourse to open acts of hostility by firing our settlements, than to do what they are doing through the Iroquois for our destruction." (p 213) * * *

(P 214) * * * "Mr. Dougan, notwithstanding works secretly by all the artifices in the world to debauch our Frenchmen and Indians. Col. Dougan's letters will sufficiently explain his pretensions which embrace no less than from the Lakes inclusive to the South Sea. Missilimackinac belongs to them. They have taken its elevation. They have been there treating with our Outawas and Huron Indians, who received them there very well on account of the excellent trade they made there in selling their goods for beaver which they purchase much dearer than we. Unfortunately we had at the time but very few French at Missilimackinac M. de la Durantaye on arriving there would pursue the English to plunder them; the Hurons ran to escort them after saying many bad things of us. M. de la Durantaye did not overtake the English who met on their road the Senecas going to meet them to escort them through Lakes Erie and Ontairo until they were beyond the risk of being attacked by us."

"Thus you see, My Lord, that the Senecas and the English understood each other charmingly." (p 214–15.)

* * * * * *

(p. 220) "The letters I wrote to Sieurs du Lhu and de la Durantaye * * * will inform you of my orders to them to fortify the two passes leading to Michilimaquina. Sieur du Lhu is at the Detroit of Lake Erie, and Sieur de la Durantaye at that of the portage of Toronto. These two ports will block the passage against the English, if they undertake to go again to Michilimaquina, and will serve as retreats to the Savages our allies, either while hunting or marching against the Iroquois." * * *

(p. 224) M. de la Durantaye is collecting people to entrench himself at Michilimaquina and to occupy the other pass which the English may take by Toronto the other entrance to Lake Huron." * * *

"THE M. DE DENONVILLE."

"M. DE DENONVILLE TO THE MINISTER."

(Paris Doc. iii).

Quebec 16th Nov. 1686.

"Sincie my letters were written. * * * a man whom I sent to Nauat * * * reports to me that the said Colonel" (Dougan) "has dispatched fifty citizens of Orange and Monat among whom are some Frenchmen, to winter with the Senecas, where they will depart, at the close of the winter, under the escort of the Senecas for Michilimaquina, carrying with them the Huron prisoners to restore them on the post of the English Governor, who desires to prevail on the Outaouas, by the service which he renders them, to abandon our alliance in order to attach themselves to the English. They carry an abundance of merchandise thither to to furnish it at a much lower rate than we. (p. 224–5.) * * *

"M. DE DENONVILLE TO GOV. DUGAN. (P. 261.)

(Paris Doc. iii; London Doc. v.)

"Aug. 22, 1687."

* * * "Nevertheless, Sir, whilst you were expressing these civilities to me you were giving orders and sending passes to dispatch canoes to trade at Missilimaquina where an Englishman had never set his foot and where we, the French, are established more than 60 years." * * *

"What have you not done, Sir, to prevent the Senecas surrendering to me the Outouacs and Huron prisoners of Missilimaquina whom they treacherously captured last year." * *

"GOV. DOUGAN TO M. DE DENONVILLE.

(Par. Doc. iii; Lond. Doc. V.)

8th Sept. 1687." (p. 266.)

"Sir—Yours of the 21st of August last I have received." * * *

(p. 268.) "As for Major McGregorie and those others you took prisoners they had no passe from me to go to Missilimaquine butt a pass to go to the Ottowawas, where I thought it might be as free for us to trade as you." * * *

"Further you blame me for hindering the Sinakees delivering up the Ottawawa prisoners to you, this I did with good reason for what pretence could you have to make your applications to them and not to me. Nevertheless I ordered Major McGregory to carry them to the Ottawaways and if your claim be only to Missilimquina what cause had you to hinder Magregory to go to the Ottawawas." * * *

"Project of the Chevallier De Callieres (p. 285), Governor of Montreal and Commanding The Troops and Militia of Canada," &c.

"January, 1689." ("Paris. Doc. iv.")

"TO MONSEIGNEUR, THE MARQUIS OF SEIGNELAY."

* * * * *

"Chevalier Anders" (Governor General of New England and New York) "is a protestant as well as the whole English Colony so that there is no reason to hope that he will remain faithful to the King of England (James ii) and we must expect that he will not only urge the Iroquois to continue the war against us but that he will even add Englishmen to them to lead them and seize the posts of Niagara, Michilimakinak and others proper to render him master of the Indians, our allies, according to the project they have long since formed, and which they began to execute when we declared war against the Iroquois and when we captured 70 Englishmen who were going to take possession of Michilimakinak one of the most important posts of Canada; our" (p. 286) "Entrepót for the Fur Trade and the residence of the Superior of the Rev. Jesuit Fathers, Missionaries among our Savages, and which belongs incontestably to us."

"Frequent disputes were caused by the Duke of York claiming, through his governors of the Province of New York, (Wm Tryon, and others,) that his province overlapped that of New France, and the source of said claims. On page 740 Doc. Hist. of New York, Gov. Tryon's Report: "Question No. 2. What are the reputed Boundaries, and are any parts disputed and by whom? Answer. The Boundaries of the Province of New York are derived from Two Sources" Grants from King Charles, 2nd, to his brother James Duke of York, & "Secondly, from the Submission and Subjection of the Five Nations of Indians to the Crown of England." * * *

(p. 743.) "On the North A line from a point on the East

bank of Lake Huron in the Latitude of Forty Five East to the River St. Lawrence, or the South Boundary Line of Quebec;" * * * The Iroquois and Senecas come to Georgin Bay and Michilimackinac to hunt beaver, and, in connection therewith, would fight the Algonquin tribes of this vicinity, burn their villages, and carry off their women and children as captives, and, "vice versa."

The French and English (and the Spanish) were rivals in Europe and North America, so that the early history of this region is intimately connected, and often resultant, with the changes caused by the wars, intrigues, and diplomacy of European Courts. Those nations had their Indian allies, and the white governors (vandals,) who represented them, in America were, generally the prime factors that lead to successive wars betweeen the savages and the frequent massacres of European settlers who were unfortunate enough to be on the side of an opposing power. It was, truly, the survival of the fittest, and in the march of conquest the poor Indian is sure to be exterminated.

From 1714 to 1760, there is little, recorded, history of the province, of Michilimackinac, and of the region about the straits of the same name. The establishment of the Province of Detroit, and the withdrawal of the troops to the town of Detroit, on that strait, where many of the Indians followed, caused a diversion of trade, and, consequent decline of supremacy.

With the victory of the English on the Plains of Abraham, before Quebec, September 12th and 13th, 1759, the successful general Wolf fell, and the defeated general Montcalm was, also, killed. The, subsequent, surrender of Montreal and Canada, with all its dependencies, on the 8th of September, 1760, by the Marquis de Vaudreuil, to the British Crown,

was the opening wedge to a change in history. The Province of Michilimackinac (in Canada), was transferred to Britain, and the French domain extinguished forever. But the French habitants remained and the effects of their civil institutions and religion are evident to this day.

PONTIAC'S CONSPIRACY.

The change of jurisdiction from French to the English rule was not agreeable to the Indians of the Lakes. They were suspicious of the English, who generally treated them with contempt, and looked upon them more in the light of slaves, subservient to their wishes, than as subjects entitled to their protection. They still clung to the French with affection and regard, and looked to them for protection and advice. The Indian and French would lodge in the same wigwam, or cabin, on intimate terms. A French voyageur, or coureur du bois, usually married a squaw (Indian fashion), adapted himself to the social condition and mode of life of her tribe, and became as one of them. They claimed each other as brothers, and in the speech of a Chippewa chief: "They called us children, and we found them fathers."

The English were not liberal in their dealings with the Indians, took advantage of them in trade, and often allowed them to suffer when they needed supplies. The French gave them clothing, ammunition and guns; also food, when required. When an Indian visited an English post he was looked upon and treated as an enemy or spy, received coldly and often driven away. English settlers had appropriated some of the best Indian lands, and the French told them

their hunting grounds would soon follow. The French knew the country was forever lost to them, but, in the spirit of revenge, they inflamed the minds of the Indians with wild tales, and informed them a chain of posts were being established to pen them in between the settlements and root them out of the land. These stories they were only too willing to believe, on account of their hatred of the English.

The French declared the King of France had fallen asleep, and that while he slumbered the English had seized Canada; but now he was awake again, and his armies were advancing by way of the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi to drive the usurpers from the country of his red children. Lieut. Edward Jenks, commanding Fort Ouatanon, on the Wabash, wrote to Maj. Gladwin, commanding Detroit, as follows: "28 March, 1763. The Canadians here are continually telling lies to the Indians. * * * One La Pointe told the Indians a few days ago that we should be all prisoners in a short time (showing when the corn was about a foot high), and that there was a great army to come from the Mississippi, and that they were to have a great number of Indians with them; therefore advised them not to help us. That they would soon take Detroit and these small posts, and then they would take Quebec, Montreal, &c., and go into our country. This, I am informed, they tell them from one end of the year to the other." He adds: "Indians would rather give six bear skins for a blanket to a Frenchman than three to an Englishman." (Parkman's Pontiac, p. 178.) The passions of the Indians, wrought to a high pitch by their real and imaginary wrongs, and exasperated by French statements, were further inflamed in another way.

There appeared among the Delawares a prophet who claimed to be a messenger from the Great Spirit. He urged them to lay aside the clothing and arms received from the

white man and return to their savage life. By doing this, and observing his precepts, they would soon be restored to their former greatness and power, and drive the white man from their territory. He had many followers, and his fame spread to the tribes on the northern lakes.

The Indians were being aroused. Belts of wampum were sent by the Six Nations to all the Indians from Nova Scotia to Illinois, and through the Massagues to the Northern Nations.

Capt. Campbell, commanding Detroit in 1761, discovered a plot to destroy him and his garrison, and nipped it in the bud; also another design in the summer of 1762 was frustrated. These plots were the forerunners of a coming tempest.

Early in 1763, when the Indians learned that the French King had ceded all their country to the King of England, without their consent, their indignation knew no bounds. Pontiac, the principal chief of the Ottawas (and of the band at Detroit), and one of them, but born of an Ojibwa (Chippewa) mother went from tribe to tribe, or sent his emissaries; "and within a few weeks a plot was matured, such as was never before or since conceived or executed by a North American Indian. It was determined to attack all the English forts upon the same day; then, having destroyed their garrisons, to turn upon the defenseless frontier and ravage and lay waste their settlements until, as many of the Indians fondly believed, the English should all be driven into the sea, and the country restored to its primitive owners."

FORT MICHILIMACKINAC.

Before the war cloud burst, in the spring of 1763, several English traders went with canoes to Michilimackinac; some followed the Ottawa route, and others the lower strait

("Detroit") by way of the lakes. Let us follow one of these adventurers by the lake route. Leaving Lake Erie he enters the "Detroit," and passing the settlement and fort of the same name, he soon enters Lake St. Clair and crosses that water. His voyageurs urge their bark canoes against the current of the longer arm of the strait (St. Clair) above until they reached the outlet of Lake Huron. Now, they enter that, apparently, boundless fresh water ocean, following the eastern shore they paddle northward over the bay of "Sagina," and onward still. In two or three weeks, if his Canadians labor well, and there is no accident, the trader approaches the end of his voyage. Near the head of the lake westward, on the right, he passes the extensive island of Bois Blanc, and sees nearly in front the "Pe-quod-e-nouze," of the Indians, beautiful Michilimackinac, rising with its white limestone cliffs and green foliage from the broad, clear waters. He does not steer towards it, for at that time the Indians were its only tenants, but keeps along the main shore to the left, while his voyageurs raise the Canadian boat song and chorus. "Doubling a point he sees before him the red flag of England swelling lazily in the wind, and the palisades and wooden bastions of Fort Michilimackinac standing close upon the margin of the lake. On the beach canoes were drawn up, and Canadians and Indians were idly lounging. A little beyond the fort is a cluster of white Canadian houses, roofed with bark, and protected with fences of strong round pickets.

"The trader enters at the gate and sees before him an extensive square area, surrounded by high palisades. Numerous houses, barracks and other buildings, form a smaller square within, and in the vacant space which they inclose appear the red uniforms of British soldiers, the gray coats of Canadians, and the gaudy Indian blankets, mingled in pic-

turesque confusion, while a multitude of squaws with children of every hue, stroll restlessly about the place. Such was Fort Michilimackinac in 1763." (Parkman.)

He adds—"This description is drawn from traditional accounts aided by a personal examination of the spot, where the stumps of the pickets and the foundations of the houses may still be traced." Also, "Its name, which, in the Algonquin tongue, signifies the Great Turtle, was first, from a fancied resemblance, applied to the neighboring island, and then to the fort."

Michilimackinac though buried in the wilderness was of no recent origin. The island was known to Champlain before 1612, and the straits were afterwards frequently passed by French traders with Indian convoys. About 1669 the island of Michilimackinac, so famous from position and commanding prominence, gave name to an extensive province of which it was the emporium and capital, and probably the first settled place in Michigan. It was the residence of Dablon, Superior of the Jesuits, who there, with Marquette, in 1670, laid the foundation of the mission of St. Ignace du Michilimackinac established in 1671. That was on the north shore, and where the first Fort Michilimackinac was, afterwards, constructed, in 1673. There were two other forts in the northern region besides Michilimackinac, Green Bay and Sault Ste. Marie. "Both were founded at an early period, and both presented the same characteristic features—mission house, a fort and a cluster of Canadian dwellings. They had been originally garrisoned by small parties of militia, who, bringing their families with them, settled on the spot and were the founders of those little colonies.

Michilimackinac, much the largest of the three, contained thirty families within the palisades of the fort, and about as many more without. Besides its military value, it was im-

portant as a center of the fur trade; for it was here that the traders engaged their men and sent out their goods in canoes under the charge of subordinates, to the more distant regions of the Mississippi and the Northwest.

The greater part of the year the garrisons and settlers were isolated and cut off from the rest of the world. The distance between the three posts was so great and a winter journey so serious and perilous that all communication was often stopped for months.

The Indians near Michilimackinac were the Ojibwas (Chippewas) and Ottawas. The Ojibwas claimed the Eastern side of Michigan and the Ottawas the Western, "separated by a line drawn southward from the fort itself." The principal village of the Ojibwas, on the island of Michilimackinac—"contained about a hundred warriors." They had another small village near the head of Thunder Bay. The Ottawas, with two hundred and fifty warriors, lived at L'Arbre Croche (the tree crooked, or crotched), west, on Lake Michigan. The Jesuit mission of St. Ignace had been moved there from the north side of the straits. The Ottawas were nominal Catholics, and the Ojibwas were not the least removed from their primitive barbarism. The two tribes were hostile to the English and loyal to the French. Their feelings of hostility were increased by the Canadians who were jealous of the English and their rivals in the fur trade.

We will now drop back to 1761, in the spring and summer, and note what was transpiring at Michilimackinac. The English had not taken possession of the fort and it was occupied by traders and coureur du bois, with their Indian families.

But before coming to one of a series of acts in the drama about to be played, at eleven posts on the line of the Great Lakes, let us present to our readers the English trader, Alex-

ander Henry, who was principal, though unwilling actor, in the tragedy at Fort Michilimackinac.

Henry was the first English fur trader who arrived among them. His adventures will describe the feeling of the Indians toward the English. He had difficulty in obtaining permission to trade at Michilimackinac, as no treaty of peace had been made with the Indians, the authorities were apprehensive that the property and lives of his Majesty's subjects would not be secure. He was eager to make the attempt which he afterwards admitted was premature.

He obtained the coveted license on the 3d of August, 1761, and began his journey by the "Ottawa route." But nothing of note happened until he reached the island of La Cloche in Lake Huron. Here he found a large village of Indians, who treated him with kindness and civility until they discovered he was English. They then told him the Indians at Michilimackinac would fall upon him and kill him, and they had a right to share the pillage. They demanded a keg of rum, and said if it was not given, they would take it. Henry complied on condition that he should not be further molested. He received repeated warnings of sure destruction at Michilimackinac that oppressed him with a sense of danger, but he could not return as he was advised, for his provisions were nearly exhausted. Observing the feeling was exclusively towards the English and his Canadian attendants were cordially received, he changed his suit for one of Canadian make, besmeared his face with grease and dirt, and resumed the voyage. He took the place of one of the boatmen, and when Indians approached, plied the paddle with as much skill as possible. During the rest of the trip he escaped notice. Early in September he arrived at the Island of Michilimackinac in his voyageurs costume, where we will allow him to speak for himself. He writes:

"The land in the center of this island is high and its form somewhat resembles that of a turtle's back. Mackinac, or Mickinac, signifies a *turtle,* and *michi* or *missi,* signifies *great,* as it does also *several,* or *many.* The common interpretation of the word Michilimackinac is, the Great Turtle. It is from this island that the fort, commonly known by the name of Michilimackinac, has obtained its appellation.

"On the island, as I had previously been taught to expect, there was a village of Chippewas, said to contain a hundred warriors. Here I was fearful of discovery, and consequent ill-treatment; but after inquiring the news, and particularly whether or not any Englishman was coming to Michilimackinac, they suffered us to pass uninjured. One man, indeed, looked at me, laughed, and pointed me out to another. This was enough to give me some uneasiness; but whatever was the singularity he perceived in me, both he and his friend retired, without suspecting me to be an Englishman.

"Leaving, as speedily as possible, the island of Michilimackinac, I crossed the strait, and landed at the fort of the same name. The distance from the island is about two leagues. I landed at four o'clock in the afternoon.

"Here I put the entire charge of my effects into the hands of my assistant, Campion, between whom and myself it had been previously agreed that he should pass for the proprietor; and my men were instructed to conceal the fact that I was an Englishman.

"Campion soon found a house, to which I retired, and where I hoped to remain in privacy; but the men soon betrayed my secret, and I was visited by the inhabitants, with great show of civility. They assured me that I could not stay at Michilimackinac without the most imminent risk, and strongly recommended that I should lose no time in making my escape to Detroit.

"Though language like this could not but increase my uneasiness, it did not shake my determination to remain with my property, and encounter the evils with which I was threatened; and my spirits were in some measure sustained by the sentiments of Campion in this regard, for he declared his belief that the Canadian inhabitants of the fort were more hostile than the Indians, as being jealous of Indian traders, who, like myself, were penetrating into the country.

"Fort Michilimackinac was built by order of the Governor-General of Canada, and garrisoned with a small number of militia, who, having families, soon became less soldiers than settlers. Most of those whom I found in the fort had originally served in the French army.

"The fort stands on the south side of the strait, which is between Lake Huron and Lake Michigan. It has an area of two acres, and is inclosed with pickets of cedar-wood, and it is so near the water's edge that, when the wind is in the west, the waves break against the stockade. On the bastions are two small pieces of brass English cannon, taken some years since by a party of Canadians who went on a plundering expedition against the posts of Hudson's Bay, which they reached by the route of the river Churchill.

"Within the stockade are thirty houses, neat in their appearance, and tolerably commodious; and a church, in which mass is celebrated by a Jesuit missionary. The number of families may be nearly equal to that of the houses, and their subsistence is derived from the Indian traders, who assemble here in their voyages to and from Montreal. Michilimackinac is the place of deposit, and point of departure between the upper countries and the lower. Here the outfits are prepared for the countries of Lake Michigan and the Mississippi, Lake Superior and the Northwest; and here the returns in furs are collected and embarked for Montreal.

"I was not released from the visits and admonitions of the inhabitants of the fort, before I received the equivocal intelligence that the whole band of Chippewas from the island of Michilimackinac was arrived with the intention of paying me a visit.

"There was in the fort one Farley, an interpreter, lately in the employ of the French Commandant. He had married a Chippewa woman, and was said to possess great influence over the nation to which his wife belonged. Doubtful as to the kind of visit which I was about to receive, I sent for this interpreter, and requested first that he would have the kindness to be present at the interview, and, secondly, that he would inform me of the intentions of the band. Mr. Farley agreed to be present; and, as to the object of the visit, replied that it was consistent with a uniform custom, that a stranger on his arrival should be waited upon, and welcomed by the chiefs of the nation, who, on their part, always gave a small present, and always expected a large one; but, as to the rest, declared himself unable to answer for the particular views of the Chippewas on this occasion, I being an Englishman, and the Indians having made no treaty with the English. He thought that there might be danger, the Indians having protested that they would not suffer an Englishman to remain in their part of the country. This information was far from agreeable; but there was no resource, except in fortitude and patience.

"At two o'clock in the afternoon, the Chippewas came to my house, about sixty in number, and headed by Mina'va'-va'na, their chief. They walked in single file, each with his tomahawk in one hand, and scalping-knife in the other. Their bodies were naked, from the waist upward, except in a few examples, where blankets were thrown loosely over the shoulders. Their faces were painted with charcoal worked

up with grease; their bodies with white clay, in patterns of various fancies. Some had feathers thrust through their noses, and their heads decorated with the same. It is unnecessary to dwell on the sensations with which I beheld the approach of this uncouth, if not frightful, assemblage.

"The chief entered first, and the rest followed, without noise. On receiving a sign from the former, the latter seated themselves on the floor.

"Minavavana appeared to be about fifty years of age. He was six feet in height, and had in his countenance an indescribable mixture of good and evil. Looking steadfastly at me, where I sat in ceremony, with an interpreter on either hand, and several Canadians behind me, he entered, at the same time, into conversation with Campion, inquiring how long it was since I left Montreal, and observing that the English, as it would seem, were brave men, and not afraid of death, since they dared to come, as I had done, fearlessly among their enemies.

"The Indians now gravely smoked their pipes, while I inwardly endured the tortures of suspense. At length, the pipes being finished, as well as a long pause by which they were succeeded, Minavavana, taking a few strings of wampum in his hand, began the following speech:

"'Englishman, it is to you that I speak, and I demand your attention!

"'Englishman you know that the French King is our father. He promised to be such; and we, in return, promised to be his children. This promise we have kept.

"'Englishman, it is you that have made war with this our father. You are his enemy; and how, then, could you have the boldness to venture among us, his children? You know that his enemies are ours.

"'Englishman, we are informed that our father, the King

of France, is old and infirm; and that, being fatigued with making war upon your nation, he is fallen asleep. During his sleep you have taken advantage of him, and possessed yourselves of Canada. But his nap is almost at an end. I think I hear him already stirring and inquiring for his children, the Indians; and, when he does awake, what must become of you? He will destroy you utterly!

"'Englishman, although you have conquered the French, you have not yet conquered us! We are not your slaves. These lakes, these woods and mountains, were left to us by our ancestors. They are our inheritance, and we will part with them to none. Your nation supposes that we, like the white people, can not live without bread—and pork—and beef! But, you ought to know that He, the Great Spirit and Master of Life, has provided food for us, in these spacious lakes, and on these woody mountains.

"'Englishman, our father, the King of France, employed our young men to make war upon your nation. In this warfare many of them have been killed; and it is our custom to retaliate until such time as the spirits of the slain are satisfied. But the spirits of the slain are to be satisfied in either of two ways; the first is by the spilling of the blood of the nation by which they fall; the other, by *covering the bodies of the dead*, and thus allaying the resentment of their relations. This is done by making presents.

"'Englishman, your king has never sent us any presents, nor entered into any treaty with us, wherefore he and we are still at war; and, until he does these things, we must consider that we have no other father nor friend, among the white men, than the King of France; but, for you, we have taken into consideration that you have ventured your life among us in the expectation that we should not molest you. You do not come armed, with an intention to make war; you

come in peace, to trade with us, and supply us with necessaries, of which we are much in want. We shall regard you, therefore, as a brother; and you may sleep tranquilly, without fear of the Chippewas. As a token of our friendship, we present you with this pipe, to smoke.'

"As Minavavana uttered these words, an Indian presented me with a pipe, which, after I had drawn the smoke three times, was carried to the chief, and after him to every person in the room. This ceremony ended, the chief arose, and gave me his hand, in which he was followed by all the rest.

"Being again seated, Minavavana requested that his young men might be allowed to taste what he called my *English milk* (meaning rum), observing, that it was long since they had tasted any, and that they were very desirous to know whether or not there were any difference between the English milk and the French.

"My adventure on leaving Fort William Augustus had left an impression on my mind which made me tremble when Indians asked for rum; and I would therefore willingly have excused myself in this particular; but, being informed that it was customary to comply with the request, and withal satisfied with the friendly declarations which I had received, I promised to give them a small cask at parting. After this, by the aid of my interpreter, I made a reply to the speech of Minavavana, declaring that it was the good character which I had heard of the Indians that had alone emboldened me to come among them; that their late father, the King of France, had surrendered Canada to the King of England, whom they ought to regard now as their father, and who would be as careful of them as the other had been; that I had come to furnish them with necessaries, and that their good treatment of me would be an encouragement to others. They appeared satisfied with what I said, repeating *Eh!* (an

expression of approbation) after hearing each particular. I had prepared a present, which I now gave them with the utmost good-will. At their departure, I distributed a small quantity of rum.

"Relieved, as I now imagined myself, from all occasion of anxiety as to the treatment which I was to experience from the Indians, I assorted my goods, and hired Canadian interpreters and clerks, in whose care I was to send them into Lake Michigan, and the river Saint Pierre, in the country of the Nadowessies; into Lake Superior among the Chippewas; and to the Grand Portage, for the north-west. Every thing was ready for their departure, when new dangers sprung up and threatened to overwhelm me.

"At the entrance of Lake Michigan, and at about twenty miles to the west of Fort Michilimackinac, is the village of L'Arbre Croche, inhabited by a band of Ottawas, boasting of two hundred and fifty fighting men. L'Arbre Croche is the seat of the Jesuit Mission of St. Ignace de Michilimackinac, and the people are partly baptized and partly not. The missionary resides on a farm, attached to the mission, and situated between the village and the fort, both of which are under his care. The Ottawas of L'Arbre Croche, who, when compared with the Chippewas, appear to be much advanced in civilization, grow maize for the market of Michilimackinac, where this commodity is depended upon for provisioning the canoes.

"The new dangers which presented themselves came from this village of Ottawas. Every thing, as I have said, was in readiness for the departure of my goods, when accounts arrived of its approach; and shortly after, two hundred warriors entered the fort, and billeted themselves in the several houses among the Canadian inhabitants. The next morning they assembled in the house which was built for the com-

mandant, or governor, and ordered the attendance of myself, and of two other merchants, still later from Montreal; namely, Messrs. Stanley Goddard and Ezekiel Solomons.

"After our entering the council-room, and taking our seats, one of the chiefs commenced an address: 'Englishmen,' said he, 'we, the Ottawas, were some time since informed of your arrival in this country, and of your having brought with you the goods of which we have need. At the news we were greatly pleased, believing that, through your assistance, our wives and children would be enabled to pass another Winter; but what was our surprise when, a few days ago, we were again informed that the goods which, as we had expected, were intended for us, were on the eve of departure for distant countries, of which some are inhabited by our enemies! These accounts being spread, our wives and children came to us, crying, and desiring that we should go to the fort, to learn with our own ears, their truth or falsehood. We accordingly embarked, almost naked, as you see; and on our arrival here, we have inquired into the accounts, and found them true. We see your canoes ready to depart, and find your men engaged for the Mississippi and other distant regions.

"'Under these circumstances, we have considered the affair; and you are now sent for, that you may hear our determination, which is, that you shall give to each of our men, young and old, merchandise and ammunition to the amount of fifty beaver-skins, on credit, and for which I have no doubt of their paying you in the Summer, on their return from their wintering.'

"A compliance with this demand would have stripped me and my fellow-merchants of all our merchandise; and what rendered the affair still more serious, we even learned that these Ottawas were never accustomed to pay for what they

received on credit. In reply, therefore, to the speech which we had heard, we requested that the demand contained in it might be diminished; but we were answered, that the Ottawas had nothing further to say, except that they would allow till the next day for reflection; after which, if compliance was not given, they would make no further application, but take into their own hands the property, which they already regarded as their own, as having been brought into their country before the conclusion of any peace between themselves and the English.

"We now returned to consider our situation; and in the evening, Farley, the interpreter, paid us a visit, assured us that it was the intention of the Ottawas to put us, that night, to death. He advised us, as our only means of safety, to comply with the demands which had been made; but we suspected our informant of a disposition to prey upon our fears, with a view to induce us to abandon the Indian trade, and resolved, however this might be, rather to stand on the defensive than submit. We trusted to the house in which I lived as a fort; and armed ourselves, and about thirty of our men, with muskets. Whether or not the Ottawas ever intended violence, we never had an opportunity of knowing; but the night passed quietly.

"Early the next morning, a second council was held, and the merchants were again summoned to attend. Believing that every hope of resistance would be lost should we commit our person into the hands of our enemies, we sent only a refusal. There was none without, in whom we had any confidence, except Campion. From him we learned, from time to time, whatever was rumored among the Canadian inhabitants as to the designs of the Ottawas; and from him, toward sunset, we received the gratifying intelligence that a detachment of British soldiery, sent to garrison Michilimack-

inac, was distant only five miles, and would enter the fort early the next morning. Near at hand, however, as relief was reported to be, our anxiety could not but be great; for a long night was to be passed, and our fate might be decided before the morning. To increase our apprehensions, about midnight we were informed that the Ottawas were holding a council, at which no white man was permitted to be present, Farley alone excepted; and him we suspected, and afterward positively knew, to be our greatest enemy. We, on our part, remained all night upon the alert; but at day-break, to our surprise and joy, we saw the Ottawas preparing to depart. By sunrise, not a man of them was left in the fort; and, indeed, the scene was altogether changed. The inhabitants, who, while the Ottawas were present, had avoided all connection with the English traders, now came with congratulations. They related that the Ottawas had proposed to them that, if joined by the Canadians, they would march and attack the troops which were known to be advancing on the fort; and they added that it was their refusal which had determined the Ottawas to depart. At noon, three hundred troops of the Sixtieth Regiment, under the command of Lieutenant Lesslie, marched into the fort; and this arrival dissipated all our fears, from whatever source derived. After a few days, detachments were sent into the Bay des Puans, by which is the route to the Mississippi, and at the mouth of Saint Joseph, which leads to the Illinois. The Indians from all quarters came to pay their respects to the commandant; and the merchants dispatched their canoes, though it was now the middle of September, and therefore somewhat late in the season."

Henry spent the winter at Michilimackinac, amusing himself by hunting and fishing. But few of the Indians came to the fort, excepting two families, one of which was that of a

chief. These families lived on a river five leagues below, and came occasionally with beaver flesh for sale. That chief was an exception to the rule; for instead of being hostile toward the English, he was warmly attached to them. But in this case the exception proved the rule, to a demonstration. Henry thus writes of him: "He had been taken prisoner by Sir William Johnson, at the siege of Fort Niagara; and had received from that intelligent officer his liberty, the medal usually presented to a chief, and the British flag. Won by these unexpected acts of kindness, he had returned to Michilimackinac, full of praises of the English, and hoisting his flag over his lodge. This latter demonstration of his partiality had nearly cost him his life; his lodge was broken down, and his flag torn to pieces. The pieces he carefully gathered up, and preserved with pious care; and whenever he came to the fort, he drew them forth and exhibited them. On these occasions, it grew into a custom to give him as much liquor as he said was necessary to make him cry over the misfortune of losing his flag. The commandant would have given him another; but he thought that he could not accept it without danger."

When navigation opened Henry left Michilimackinac to visit Sault St. Marie. "Here he made the acquaintance of M. Cadotte, an interpreter, whose wife was a Chippewa; and, desirous of learning that language, he decided to spend the succeeding winter in the family of his new-found friend. Here also there was a small fort, and during the summer a small detachment of troops, under the command of Lieutenant Jamette, arrived to garrison it. Late in the fall, however, a destructive fire, which consumed all the houses except Cadotte's, and all the fort supplies, made it necessary to send the garrison back to Michilimackinac. The few that were left at this place were now crowded into one small house, and

compelled to gain a subsistance by hunting and fishing. Thus, inuring himself to hardships, and familiarizing himself with the Chippewa tongue, Henry passed the second winter of his sojourn in the wilderness of the Upper Lakes. Early in the succeeding spring, 1763, he was visited by Sir Robert Dover, an English gentleman, who, as Henry tells us, 'was on a voyage of curiosity,' and with him he again returned to Michilimackinac." He intended to remain until his clerks should come from the interior, and then go back to the Sault. Leaving our hero at the moment of his arrival at the fort, we turn our attention to tribes further south.

Parkman says: "It is difficult to determine which tribe was first to raise the cry of war. There were many who might have done so; for all the savages in the backwoods were ripe for an outbreak, and the movement seemed almost simultaneous. The Delawares and Senecas were the most incensed; and Kiashuta, chief of the latter, was perhaps foremost to apply the torch; but if this were the case, he touched fire to materials already on the point of igniting. It belonged to a greater chief than he to give method and order to what would else have been a wild burst of fury, and to convert desultory attacks into a formidable and protracted war. But for Pontiac, the whole might have ended in a few troublesome inroads upon the frontier, and a little whooping and yelling under the walls of Fort Pitt."

The nationality of Pontiac is disputed. Some have made him a member of the tribe of Sacks, or Saäkies; but the greater number have placed him among the Ottawas. "His home was about eight miles above Detroit, on Peche Island, which looks out upon the waters of Lake St. Clair. His form was cast in the finest mold of savage grace and strength, and his eye seemed capable of penetrating, at a glance, the secret motives which actuated the savage tribes around him.

His rare personal qualities, his courage, resolution, wisdom, address, and eloquence, together with the hereditary claim to authority which, according to Indian custom, he possessed, secured for him the esteem of both the French and English, and gave him an influence among the Lake tribes greater than that of any other individual. Early in life he distinguished himself as a chieftain of no ordinary ability. In 1746 he commanded a powerful body of Indians, mostly Ottawas, who gallantly defended the people of Detroit against the formidable attack of several combined northern tribes; and it is supposed that he was present at the disastrous defeat of Braddock, in which several hundred of his warriors were engaged. He had always, at least up to the time when Major Rogers came into the country, been a firm friend of the French, and received many marks of esteem from the French officer, Marquis de Montcalm."

"How could he, then, 'the daring chief of the Northwest,' do otherwise than dispute the English claim to his country? How could he endure the sight of this people driving the game from his hunting-grounds, and his friends and allies from the lands they had so long possessed? When he heard that Rogers was advancing along the lakes to take possession of the country, his indignation knew no bounds, and he at once sent deputies, requesting him to halt until such time as he could see him. Flattering words and fair promises induced him, at length, to extend the hand of friendship to Rogers. He was inclined to live peaceably with the English, and to encourage their settling in the country, as long as they treated him as he deserved; but if they treated him with neglect, he would shut up the way, and exclude them from it. He did not consider himself a conquered prince, but he expected to be treated with the respect and honor due to a king."

The Indians felt, as Minavavana expressed it, that they had "no father among the white men but the King of France;" Pontiac resolved, as he had threatened, to "shut up the way." His plan was to make a contemporaneous assault upon all the British posts, and effectually extinguish the English power at a single blow. "This was a stroke of policy which evinced an extraordinary genius, and demanded for its execution an energy and courage of the highest order. But Pontiac was fully equal to the task. He was as skillful in executing as he was bold in planning. He knew that success would multiply friends and allies; but friends and allies were necessary to insure success."

"First, then, a council must be called; and for this purpose, at the close of 1762, he sent out his ambassadors to all the different nations. With the war-belt of wampum and the tomahawk stained red in token of war, these swift-footed messengers went from camp to camp and from village to village, throughout the North, South, East, and West; and in whatever tribe they appeared, the sachems assembled to hear the words of the great Pontiac. The message was everywhere heard with approbation, the war-belt accepted, and the hatchet seized, as an indication that the assembled chiefs stood pledged to take part in the war.

"The Grand Council assembled on the twenty-seventh day of the following April, on the banks of the little river Ecorce, not far from Detroit. The pipe went round, and Pontiac stepped forth, plumed and painted in the full costume of war. He called into requisition all the eloquence and cunning of which he was master. He appealed to their fears, their hopes, their ambition, their cupidity, their hatred of the English, and their love for their old friends, the French. He displayed to them a belt which he said the King of France had sent him, urging him to drive the English from

the country, and open the way for the return of the French. He painted, in glowing colors, the common interests of their race, and called upon them to make a stand against a common foe." He related a dream in which the Great Manitou had appeared to a chief of the Abenakis, saying: "I am the Maker of heaven and earth, the trees, lakes, rivers, and all things else. I am the Maker of mankind, and because I love you, you must do my will. The land on which you live, I made for you, and not for others. Why do you suffer the white men to dwell among you? My children, you have forgotten the customs and traditions of your forefathers. Why do you not clothe yourselves in skins, as they did, and use the bows and arrows, and the stone-pointed lances which they used? You have bought guns, knives, kettles, and blankets from the white men, until you can no longer do without them; and, what is worse, you have drunk the poison fire-water, which turns you into fools. Fling all these things away; live as your wise forefathers lived before you. And as for these English—these dogs dressed in red, who have come to rob you of your hunting-grounds, and drive away the game—you must lift the hatchet against them. Wipe them from the face of the earth, and then you will win my favor back again, and once more be happy and prosperous. The children of your great father, the King of France, are not like the English. Never forget that they are your brethren. They are very dear to me, for they love the red men, and understand the true mode of worshiping me."

We left Henry on his arrival at the fort. The Ottawas and Chippewas had received the war belt of black and purple wampum and the painted hatchet, from Pontiac, and were pledged to join in the war of extermination. Near the last of May word came that the blow had been struck at Detroit, and the Indians were wild with excitement. The

Chippewas resolved to assault Michilimackinac at once and not notify the Ottawas. Other tribes had gathered in the vicinity who joined the Chippewas. We will continue the story in Henry's own words:

MASSACRE AT FORT MICHILIMACKINAC.

"When I reached Michilimackinac, I found several other traders who had arrived before me, from different parts of the country, and who, in general, declared the disposition of the Indians to be hostile to the English, and even apprehended some attack. M. Laurent Ducharme distinctly informed Major Ethrington that a plan was absolutely conceived for destroying him, his garrison, and all the English in the upper country; but the commandant, believing this and other reports to be without foundation, proceeding only from idle or ill-disposed persons, and of a tendency to do mischief, expressed much displeasure against M. Ducharme, and threatened to send the next person who should bring a story of the same kind a prisoner to Detroit.

"The garrison at this time consisted of ninety privates, two subalterns, and the commandant, and the English merchants at the fort were four in number. Thus strong few entertained anxiety concerning the Indians, who had no weapons but small arms.

"Meanwhile the Indians from every quarter were daily assembling in usual numbers, but with every appearance of friendship, frequenting the forts and disposing of their peltries in such a manner as to dissipate almost any one's fears. For myself, on one occasion I took the liberty of observing to Major Ethrington that, in my judgment, no confidence ought to be placed in them, and that I was informed no less than four hundred lay around the fort. In return the Major only rallied me on my timidity: and it is to be confessed that, if this officer neglected admonition on his

part, so did I on mine. Shortly after my first arrival at Michilimackinac, in the preceding year, a Chippewa named Wáwátam began to come often to my house, betraying in his demeanor strong marks of personal regard. After this had continued for some time, he came on a certain day, bringing with him his whole family; and, at the same time, a large present, consisting of skins, sugar, and dried meat. Having laid these in a heap, he commenced a speech, in which he informed me that, some years before, he had observed a fast, devoting himself, according to the custom of his nation, to solitude and the mortification of his body, in the hope to obtain from the Great Spirit protection through all his days; that, on this occasion, he had dreamed of adopting an Englishman as his son, brother, and friend; that, from the moment in which he first beheld me, he had recognized me as the person whom the Great Spirit had been pleased to point out to him for a brother; that he hoped that I would not refuse his present, and that he should forever regard me as one of his family.

"I could do no otherwise than accept the present, and declare my willingness to have so good a man as this appeared to be for my friend and brother. I offered a present in return for that which I had received, which Wawatam accepted, and then, thanking me for the favor which he said that I had rendered him, he left me, and soon after set out on his Winter's hunt.

"Twelve months had now elapsed since the occurrence of this incident, and I had almost forgotten the person of my *brother,* when, on the second day of June, Wawatam came again to my house, in a temper of mind visibly melancholy and thoughtful. He told me that he had just returned from his *wintering-ground,* and I asked after his health; but without answering my question, he went on to say that he was

very sorry to find me returned from the Sault; that he had intended to go to that place himself, immediately after his arrival at Michilimackinac; and that he wished me to go there along with him and his family the next morning. To all this he joined an inquiry whether or not the commandant had heard bad news, adding that, during the Winter, he had himself been frequently disturbed with *the noise of evil birds;* and further suggesting that there were numerous Indians near the fort, many of whom had never shown themselves within it. Wawatam was about forty-five years of age, of an excellent character among his nation, and a chief.

"Referring much of what I heard to the peculiarities of the Indian character, I did not pay all the attention which they will be found to have deserved to the entreaties and remarks of my visitor. I answered that I could not think of going to the Sault so soon as the next morning, but would follow him there after the arrival of my clerks. Finding himself unable to prevail with me, he withdrew for that day; but early the next morning he came again, bringing with him his wife and a present of dried meat. At this interview, after stating that he had several packs of beaver, for which he intended to deal with me, he expressed a second time his apprehensions from the numerous Indians who were around the fort, and earnestly pressed me to consent to an immediate departure for the Sault. As a reason for this particular request, he assured me that all the Indians proposed to come in a body that day to the fort, to demand liquor of the commandant, and that he wished me to be gone before they should grow intoxicated. I had made, at the period to which I am now referring, so much progress in the language in which Wawatam addressed me, as to be able to hold an ordinary conversation in it; but the Indian manner of speech is so extravagantly figurative, that it is only for a very per-

fect master to follow and comprehend it entirely. Had I been further advanced in this respect, I think that I should have gathered so much information from this, my friendly monitor, as would have put me into possession of the designs of the enemy, and enabled me to save others as well as myself; as it was, it unfortunately happened that I turned a deaf ear to every thing, leaving Wawatam and his wife, after long and patient, but ineffectual efforts, to depart alone, with dejected countenances, and not before they had each let fall some tears.

"In the course of the same day, I observed that the Indians came in great numbers into the fort, purchasing tomahawks (small axes of one pound weight), and frequently desiring to see silver arm-bands, and other valuable ornaments, of which I had a large quantity for sale. These ornaments, however, they in no instance purchased; but, after turning them over, left them, saying that they would call again the next day. Their motive, as it afterward appeared, was no other than the very artful one of discovering, by requesting to see them, the particular places of their deposit, so that they might lay their hands on them in the moment of pillage, with the greater certainty and dispatch.

"At night I turned in my mind the visits of Wawatam; but, though they were calculated to excite uneasiness, nothing induced me to believe that serious mischief was at hand.

"The next day, being the 4th of June, was the king's birthday. The morning was sultry. A Chippewa came to tell me that his nation was going to play at bag'gat'iway, with the Sacs or Saäkies, another Indian nation, for a high wager. He invited me to witness the sport, adding that the commandant was to be there, and would be on the side of the Chippewas. In consequence of this information, I went

to the commandant, and expostulated with him a little, representing that the Indians might possibly have some sinister end in view; but the commandant only smiled at my suspicions."

"The game of baggatiway, which the Indians played upon that memorable occasion, was the most exciting sport in which the red man could engage. It was played with bat and ball. The bat, so called, was about four foot in length, and an inch in diameter. It was made of the toughest material that could be found. At one end it was curved, and terminated in a sort of racket, or perhaps more properly a ring, in which a network of cord was loosely woven. The players were not allowed to touch the ball with the hand, but caught it in this network at the end of the bat. At either end of the ground a tall post was planted. These posts marked the stations of the rival parties, and were sometimes a mile apart. The object of each party was to defend its own post and carry the ball to that of the adversary."

"At the beginning of the game the main body of the players assemble half-way between the two posts. Every eye sparkles and every cheek is already aglow with excitement. The ball is tossed high into the air, and a general struggle ensues to secure it as it descends. He who succeeds starts for the goal of the adversary holding it high above his head. The opposite party, with merry yells, are swift to pursue. His course is intercepted, and rather than see the ball taken from him, he throws it, as the boy throws a stone from a sling, as far toward the goal of the adversary as he can. An adversary in the game catches it, and sends it whizzing back in the opposite direction. Hither and thither it goes; now far to the right, now as far to the left; now near to the one, now as near to the other goal; the whole band crowding con-

tinually after it in the wildest confusion, until, finally, some agile figure, more fleet of foot than others, succeeds in bearing it to the goal of the opposite party."

The writer when a boy, eleven years old, saw this game played near Fort Towson, in the Indian Territory, between Choctaws and Chickasaws. My father was Post Surgeon in the medical corps of the army, at Towson. We were the guests of a Choctaw chief, Colbert, and his son. I went to school with young Colbert, where there were about forty pupils, all Indians, except two white boys and myself. On this occasion there were one hundred players, fifty from each tribe. The players were naked, excepting a breech-clout, of raw-hide or cloth, ornamented with feathers or beads, some decked behind with horse or coon tails, according to the fancy of the buck. The game was played just as here described, but there were two long poles, about six or eight inches apart, at each end of the line. The object was to throw the ball between the poles of the adversary. At the termination of the game there was a great feast, and, among other delicacies, dog was served. My father said I partook of roast dog with a relish, but I don't remember that part.

"In the heat of the contest, when all are running at their greatest speed, if one stumbles and falls, fifty or a hundred, who are in close pursuit and unable to stop, pile over him forming a mound of human bodies; and frequently players are so bruised as to be unable to proceed in the game.

"This game, with its attendant noise and violence, was well calculated to divert the attention of officers and men, and thus permit the Indians to take possession of the fort. To make their success more certain, they prevailed upon as many as they could to come out of the fort, while at the same time their squaws wrapped in blankets, beneath which they concealed the murderous weapons, were placed inside the

inclosure. The plot was so ingeniously laid that no one suspected danger. The discipline of the garrison was relaxed, and the soldiers permitted to stroll about and view the sport, without weapons of defense. And even when the ball, as if by chance, was lifted high in the air, to descend inside the pickets, and was followed by four hundred savages, all eager, all struggling, all shouting in the unrestrained pursuit of a rude, athletic exercise, no alarm was felt until the shrill war-whoop told the startled garrison that the slaughter had actually begun."

Henry continues: "I did not go myself to see the match which was now to be played without the fort, because, there being a canoe prepared to depart on the following day, for Montreal, I employed myself in writing letters to my friends; and even when a fellow-trader, Mr. Tracy, happened to call upon me, saying that another canoe had just arrived from Detroit, and proposing that I should go with him to the beach, to inquire the news, it so happened that I still remained, to finish my letters, promising to follow Mr, Tracy in the course of a few minutes. Mr. Tracy had not gone more than twenty paces from my door, when I heard an Indian war-cry, and a noise of general confusion. Going instantly to my window, I saw a crowd of Indians, within the fort, furiously cutting down and scalping every Englishman they found. In particular I witnessed the fate of Lieutenant Jemette.

"I had, in the room in which I was, a fowling-piece, loaded with swan-shot. This I immediately seized, and held it for a few minutes, waiting to hear the drum beat to arms. In this dreadful interval I saw several of my countrymen fall, and more than one struggling between the knees of an Indian, who, holding him in this manner, scalped him while yet living.

"At length, disappointed in the hope of seeing resistance made to the enemy, and sensible of course, that no effort of my own unassisted arm could avail against four hundred Indians, I thought only of seeking shelter. Amid the slaughter which was raging, I observed many of the Canadian inhabitants of the fort calmly looking on, neither opposing the Indians nor suffering injury; and, from this circumstance, I conceived a hope of finding security in their houses.

"Between the yard-door of my own house and of M. Langlade, my next neighbor, there was only a low fence, over which I easily climbed. At my entrance I found the whole family at the windows, gazing at the scene of blood before them. I addressed myself immediately to M. Langlade; begging that he would put me into some place of safety until the heat of the affair should be over, an act of charity by which he might perhaps preserve me from the general massacre; but, while I uttered my petition, M. Langlade, who had looked for a moment at me, turned again to the window, shrugging his shoulders, and intimating that he could do nothing for me: *'Que voudriez—vous que j'en ferais?'*

"This was a moment for despair; but the next, a Pani woman, a slave of M. Langlade, beckoned me to follow her. She brought me to a door, which she opened, desiring me to enter, and telling me that it led to the garret, where I must go and conceal myself. I joyfully obeyed her directions; and she, having followed me up to the garret door, locked it after me, and with great presence of mind took away the key.

"This shelter obtained, if shelter I could hope to find it, I was naturally anxious to know what might still be passing without. Through an aperture, which afforded me a view of the area of the fort, I beheld, in shapes the foulest and most terrible, the ferocious triumphs of barbarian conquerors. The dead were scalped and mangled; the dying were writhing

and shrieking under the unsatiated knife and tomahawk; and from the bodies of some, ripped open, their butchers were drinking the blood, scooped up in the hollow of joined hands, and quaffed amid shouts of rage and victory. I was shaken, not only with horror, but with fear. The sufferings which I witnessed, I seemed on the point of experiencing. No long time elapsed before, everyone being destroyed who could be found, there was a general cry of 'All is finished!' At the same instant I heard some of the Indians enter the house in which I was. The garret was separated from the room below only by a layer of single boards, at once the flooring of the one and the ceiling of the other. I could therefore hear everything that passed; and the Indians no sooner came in than they inquired whether or not any Englishmen were in the house. M. Langlade replied that 'he could not say'; he 'did not know of any,'—answers in which he did not exceed the truth, for the *Pani woman had not only hidden me by stealth, but kept my secret, and her own. M. Langlade was therefore, as I presume, as far from a wish to destroy me as he was careless about saving me, when he added to these answers, that 'they might examine for themselves, and would soon be satisfied as to the object of their question.' Saying this, he brought them to the garret door.

"The state of my mind will be imagined. Arrived at the door, some delay was occasioned by the absence of the key, and a few moments were thus allowed me in which to look around me for a hiding place. In one corner of the garret was a heap of those vessels of birch bark used in maple-sugar making, as I have recently described.

"The door was unlocked, and opening, and the Indians ascending the stairs, before I had completely crept into a small opening which presented itself at one end of the heap.

*Paunee.

An instant later four Indians entered the room, all armed with tomahawks, and all besmeared with blood upon every part of their bodies.

"The die appeared to be cast. I could scarcely breathe, but I thought that the throbbing of my heart occasioned a noise loud enough to betray me. The Indians walked in every direction about the garret, and one of them approached me so closely that at a particular moment, had he put forth his hand he must have touched me. Still I remained undiscovered, a circumstance to which the dark color of my clothes, and the want of light in a room which had no window, and in the corner in which I was, must have contributed. In a word, after taking several turns in the room, during which they told M. Langlade how many they had killed, and how many scalps they had taken, they returned down stairs, and I, with sensations not to be expressed, heard the door, which was the barrier between me and my fate, locked for the second time.

"There was a feather-bed on the floor, and on this, exhausted as I was by the agitation of my mind, I threw myself down and fell asleep. In this state I remained till the dark of the evening, when I was awakened by a second opening of the door. The person that now entered was M. Langlade's wife, who was much surprised at finding me, but advised me not to be uneasy, observing that the Indians had killed most of the English, but that she hoped I might myself escape. A shower of rain having begun to fall, she had come to stop a hole in the roof. On her going away, I begged her to send me a little water to drink, which she did.

"As night was now advancing, I continued to lie on the bed, ruminating on my condition, but unable to discover a source from which I could hope for life. A flight to Detroit had no probable chance of success. The distance, from Mich-

ilimackinac was four hundred miles; I was without provisions; and the whole length of the road lay through Indian countries, countries of an enemy in arms, where the first man whom I should meet would kill me. To stay where I was, threatened nearly the same issue. As before, fatigue of mind, and not tranquility, suspended my cares, and procured me further sleep.

"The respite which sleep afforded me, during the night, was put to an end by the return of morning. I was again on the rack of apprehension. At sunrise I heard the family stirring, and, presently after, Indian voices, informing M. Langlade that they had not found my hapless self among the dead, and that they supposed me to be somewhere concealed. M. Langlade appeared, from what followed, to be, by this time, acquainted with the place of my retreat, of which no doubt he had been informed by his wife. The poor woman, as soon as the Indians mentioned me declared to her husband in the French tongue, that he should no longer keep me in his house, but deliver me up to my pursuers; giving as a reason for this measure, that should the Indians discover his instrumentality in my concealment, they might avenge it on her children, and that it was better that I should die than they. M. Langlade resisted, at first, this sentence of his wife's, but soon suffered her to prevail, informing the Indians that he had been told I was in the house, that I had come there without his knowledge, and that he would put me into their hands. This was no sooner expressed than he began to ascend the stairs, the Indians following upon his heels.

"I now resigned myself to the fate with which I was menaced; and, regarding every attempt at concealment as vain, I arose from the bed, and presented myself full in view to the Indians who were entering the room. They were all

in a state of intoxication, and entirely naked, except about the middle. One of them, named, Wenniway, whom I had previously known, and who was upward of six feet in height, had his entire face and body covered with charcoal and grease, only that a white spot of two inches in diameter encircled either eye. This man, walking up to me, seized me with one hand by the collar of the coat, while in the other he held a large carving-knife, as if to plunge it into my breast; his eyes, meanwhile, were fixed steadfastly on mine. At length, after some seconds of the most anxious suspense, he dropped his arm, saying, 'I won't kill you!' To this he added, that he had been frequently engaged in wars against the English, and had brought away many scalps; that, on a certain occasion, he had lost a brother whose name was Musinigon, and that I should be called after him.

"A reprieve, upon any terms, placed me among the living, and gave me back the sustaining voice of hope; but Wenniway ordered me down stairs, and there informing me that I was to be taken to his cabin, where, and indeed everywhere else, the Indians were all mad with liquor, death again was threatened, and not as possible only, but as certain. I mentioned my fears on this subject to M. Langlade, begging him to represent the danger to my master. M. Langlade, in this instance, did not withhold his compassion, and Wenniway immediately consented that I should remain where I was, until he found another opportunity to take me away.

"Thus far secure, I reascended my garret stairs, in order to place myself the farthest possible out of the reach of insult from drunken Indians; but I had not remained there more than an hour, when I was called to the room below, in which was an Indian, who said that I must go with him out of the fort, Wenniway having sent him to fetch me. This man, as well as Wenniway himself, I had seen before. In the pre-

ceding year I had allowed him to take goods on credit, for which he was still in my debt; and, some short time previous to the surprise of the fort, he had said, upon my upbraiding him with want of honesty, that 'he would pay me before long!' This speech now came fresh into my memory, and led me to suspect that the fellow had formed a design against my life. I communicated the suspicion to M. Langlade; but he gave for answer, that I was not my own master, and must do as I was ordered.

"The Indian, on his part, directed that before I left the house I should undress myself, declaring that my coat and shirt would become him better than they did me. His pleasure, in this respect, being complied with, no other alternative was left me than either to go out naked, or to put on the clothes of the Indian, which he freely gave me in exchange. His motive for thus stripping me of my own apparrel, was no other, as I afterward learned, than this, that it might not be stained with blood when he should kill me.

"I was now told to proceed; and my driver followed me close until I had passed the gate of the fort, when I turned toward the spot where I knew the Indians to be encamped. This, however, did not suit the purpose of my enemy, who seized me by the arm, and drew me violently in the opposite direction, to the distance of fifty yards above the fort. Here, finding that I was approaching the bushes and sand-hills, I determined to proceed no farther; but told the Indian that I believed he meant to murder me, and that if so, he might as well strike where I was as at any greater distance. He replied, with coolness, that my suspicions were just, and that he meant to pay me in this manner for my goods. At the same time he produced a knife, and held me in a position to receive the intended blow. Both this, and that which followed, were necessarily the affair of a moment. By some

effort, too sudden and too little dependent on thought to be explained or remembered, I was enabled to arrest his arm and give him a sudden push, by which I turned him from me, and released myself from his grasp. This was no sooner done, than I ran toward the fort with all the swiftness in my power, the Indian following me, and I expecting every moment to feel his knife. I succeeded in my flight, and, on entering the fort, I saw Wenniway standing in the midst of the area, and to him I hastened for protection. Wenniway desired the Indian to desist; but the latter pursued me around him, making several strokes at me with his knife, and foaming at the mouth, with rage at the repeated failure of his purpose. At length Wenniway drew near to M. Langlade's house, and, the door being open, I ran into it. The Indian followed me; but on my entering the house, he voluntarily abandoned the pursuit.

"Preserved so often and so unexpectedly, as it had now been my lot to be, I returned to my garret with a strong inclination to believe that, through the will of the overruling power, no Indian enemy could do me hurt; but new trials, as I believed, were at hand, when, at ten o'clock in the evening, I was aroused from sleep and once more desired to descend the stairs. Not less, however, to my satisfaction than surprise, I was summoned only to meet Major Ethrington, Mr. Bostwick, and Lieutenant Lesslie, who were in the room below. These gentlemen had been taken prisoners, while looking at the game without the fort, and immediately stripped of all their clothes. They were now sent into the fort, under the charge of Canadians, because, the Indians having resolved on getting drunk, the chiefs were apprehensive that they would be murdered, if they continued in the camp. Lieutenant Jemette and seventy soldiers had been killed; and but twenty Englishmen, including soldiers, were

still alive. These were all within the fort, together with nearly three hundred Canadians, belonging to the canoes, etc.

"These being our numbers, myself and others proposed to Major Etherington to make an effort for regaining possession of the fort, and maintaining it against the Indians. The Jesuit missionary was consulted on the project; but he discouraged us by his representations, not only of the merciless treatment which we must expect from the Indians, should they regain their superiority, but of the little dependence which was to be placed upon our Canadian auxiliaries. Thus the fort and prisoners remained in the hands of the Indians, though, through the whole night, the prisoners and whites were in actual possession, and they were without the gates.

"The whole night, or the greater part of it, was passed in mutual condolence; and my fellow-prisoners shared my garret. In the morning, being again called down, I found my master, Wenniway, and was desired to follow him. He led me to a small house within the fort, where, in a narrow room, and almost dark, I found Mr. Ezekiel Solomons, an Englishman from Detroit, and a soldier, all prisoners. With these I remained in painful suspense as to the scene that was next to present itself, till ten o'clock in the forenoon, when an Indian arrived, and presently marched us to the lake-side, where a canoe appeared ready for departure, and in which we found that we were to embark.

"Our voyage, full of doubt as it was, would have commenced immediately, but that one of the Indians, who was to be of the party, was absent. His arrival was to be waited for, and this occasioned a very long delay, during which we were exposed to a keen north-east wind. An old shirt was all that covered me. I suffered much from the cold, and in this extremity, M. Langlade coming down to the beach, I asked him for a blanket, promising, if I lived, to pay him for

it at any price he pleased; but the answer I received was this, that he could let me have no blanket, unless there were some one to be security for the payment. For myself, he observed, I had no longer any property in that country. I had no more to say to M. Langlade; but, presently seeing another Canadian, named John Cuchoise, I addressed him a similar request, and was not refused. Naked as I was, and rigorous as was the weather, but for the blanket I must have perished. At noon our party was all collected, the prisoners all embarked, and we steered for the Isles du Castor, in Lake Michigan.

"The soldier who was our companion in misfortune was made fast to a bar of the canoe, by a rope tied around his neck, as is the manner of the Indians in transporting their prisoners. The rest were left unconfined; but a paddle was put into each of our hands, and we were made to use it. The Indians in the canoe were seven in number; the prisoners four. I had left, as it will be recollected, Major Etherington, Lieutenant Lesslie, and Mr. Bostwick, at M. Langlade's, and was now joined in misery with Mr. Ezekiel Solomons, the soldier, and the Englishman, who had newly arrived from Detroit. This was on the sixth day of June. The fort was taken on the fourth; I surrendered myself to Wenniway on the fifth; and this was the third day of our distress.

"We were bound, as I have said, for the Isles du Castor, which lie in the mouth of Lake Michigan; and we should have crossed the lake but that a thick fog came on, on account of which the Indians deemed it safer to keep the shore close under their lee. We therefore approached the lands of the Ottawas, and their village of L'Arbre Croche, already mentioned as lying about twenty miles to the westward of Michilimackinac, on the opposite side of the tongue of land on which the fort is built.

"Every half-hour the Indians gave their war-whoops, one for every prisoner in their canoe. This is a general custom, by the aid of which all the Indians within hearing are apprised of the number of prisoners they are carrying. In this manner we reached Wagoshense (Fox Point), a long point, stretching westward into the lake, and which the Ottawas make a carrying-place, to avoid going round it. It is distant eighteen miles from Michilimackinac. After the Indians had made their war-whoop, as before, an Ottawa appeared upon the beach, who made signs that we should land. In consequence, we approached. The Ottawa asked the news, and kept the Chippewas in further conversation, till we were within a few yards of the land, and in shallow water. At this moment, a hundred men rushed upon us from among the bushes, and dragged all the prisoners out of the canoes, amid a terrifying shout.

"We now believed that our last sufferings were approaching; but no sooner were we fairly on shore, and on our legs, than the chiefs of the party advanced and gave each of us their hands, telling us that they were our friends, and Ottawas whom the Chippewas had insulted by destroying the English without consulting with them on the affair. They added that what they had done was for the purpose of saving our lives, the Chippewas having been carrying us to the Isles du Castor only to kill and devour us.

"The reader's imagination is here distracted by the variety of our fortunes, and he may well paint to himself the state of mind of those who sustained them; who were the sport or the victims, of a series of events more like dreams than realities —more like fiction than truth! It was not long before we were embarked again, in the canoes of the Ottawas, who, the same evening re-landed us at Michilimackinac, where they marched us into the fort, in view of the Chippewas,

confounded at beholding the Ottawas espouse a side opposite to their own. The Ottawas, who had accompanied us in sufficient numbers, took possession of the fort. We, who had changed masters, but were still prisoners, were lodged in the house of the commandant, and strictly guarded.

"Early the next morning, a General Council was held, in which the Chippewas complained much of the conduct of the Ottawas, in robbing them of their prisoners; alleging that all the Indians, the Ottawas alone excepted, were at war with the English; that Pontiac had taken Detroit; that the King of France had awoke, and re-possessed himself of Quebec and Montreal, and that the English were meeting destruction, not only at Michilimackinac, but in every other part of the world. From all this they inferred that it became the Ottawas to restore the prisoners, and to join in the war; and the speech was followed by large presents, being part of the plunder of the fort, and which was previously heaped in the center of the room. The Indians rarely make their answers till the day after they have heard the arguments offered. They did not depart from their custom on this occasion; and the Council, therefore, adjourned.

"We, the prisoners whose fate was thus in controversy, were unacquainted, at the time, with this transaction; and therefore enjoyed a night of tolerable tranquillity, not in the least suspecting the reverse which was preparing for us. Which of the arguments of the Chippewas, or whether or not all were deemed valid by the Ottawas, I can not say, but the Council was resumed at an early hour in the morning, and, after several speeches had been made in it, the prisoners were sent for and returned to the Chippewas.

"The Ottawas, who now gave us into the hands of the Chippewas, had themselves declared that the latter designed no other than to kill us, and *make broth of us.* The Chip-

pewas, as soon as we were restored to them, marched us to a village of their own, situate on the point which is below the fort, and put us into a lodge, already the prison of fourteen soldiers, tied two and two, with each a rope around his neck, and made fast to a pole which might be called the supporter of the building.

"I was left untied; but I passed a night sleepless, and full of wretchedness. My bed was the bare ground, and I was again reduced to an old shirt, as my entire apparel; the blanket which I had received, through the generosity of M. Cuchoise, having been taken from me among the Ottawas, when they siezed upon myself and the others, at Wagoshence. I was besides in want of food, having for two days eaten nothing. I confess that in the canoe with the Chippewas, I was offered bread—but bread with what accompaniment! They had a loaf, which they cut with the same knives that they had employed in the massacre—knives still covered with blood. The blood they moistened with spittle, and rubbing it on the bread, offered this for food to their prisoners, telling them to eat the blood of their countrymen.

"Such was my situation on the morning of the seventh of June, in the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three. But a few hours produced an event which gave still a new color to my lot. Toward noon, when the great war-chief, in company with Wenniway, was seated at the opposite end of the lodge, my friend and brother, Wawatam, suddenly came in. During the four days preceding, I had often wondered what had become of him. In passing by, he gave me his hand, but went immediately toward the great chief, by the side of whom and Wenniway he sat himself down. The most uninterrupted silence prevailed, each smoking his pipe; and, this done, Wawatam arose and left the lodge, saying to me, as he passed, 'Take courage.'

"An hour elapsed, during which several chiefs entered, and preparations appeared to be making for a council. At length, Wawatam re-entered the lodge, followed by his wife, and both loaded with merchandise, which they carried up to the chiefs, and laid in a heap before them. Some moments of silence followed, at the end of which Wawatam pronounced a speech, every word of which, to me, was of extraordinary interest:—

"'Friends and relations, what is it that I shall say? You know what I feel. You all have friends and brothers and children whom as yourselves you love: and you—what would you experience, did you, like me, behold your dearest friend, your brother, in the condition of a slave; a slave, exposed every moment to insult and to menaces of death? This case, as you all know, is mine. See there [pointing to myself], my friend and brother among slaves—himself a slave!

"'You all well know that, long before the war began, I adopted him as my brother. From that moment, he became one of my family, so that no change of circumstances could break the cord which fastened us together. He is my brother; and because I am your relation, he is therefore your relation too. And how, being your relation, can he be your slave?

"'On the day on which the war began, you were fearful lest, on this very account, I should reveal your secret. You requested, therefore, that I would leave the fort, and even cross the lake. I did so, but I did it with reluctance. I did it with reluctance, notwithstanding that you, Menehwehna (Minavavana), who had the command in this enterprise, gave me your promise that you would protect my friend, delivering him from all danger, and giving him safely to me. The performance of this promise I now claim. I come not with

empty hands to ask it. You, Menehwehna, best know whether or not, as it respects yourself, you have kept your word; but I bring these goods to buy off every claim which any man among you all may have on my brother, as his prisoner.'

"Wawatam having ceased, the pipes were again filled; and, after they were finished, a further period of silence followed. At the end of this, Menehwehna arose, and gave his reply:

"'My relation and brother,' said he, 'what you have spoken is the truth. We were acquainted with the friendship which subsisted between yourself and the Englishman, in whose behalf you have now addressed us. We knew the danger of having our secret discovered, and the consequences which must follow; and you say truly, that we requested you to leave the fort. This we did out of regard for you and your family; for, if a discovery of our design had been made, you would have been blamed, whether guilty or not; and you would thus have been involved in difficulties from which you could not have extricated yourself.

"'It is also true that I promised you to take care of your friend; and this promise I performed by desiring my son, at the moment of assault, to seek him out and bring him to my lodge. He went accordingly, but could not find him. The day after I sent him to Langlade's, when he was informed that your friend was safe; and had it not been that the Indians were then drinking the rum which had been found in the fort, he would have brought him home with him, according to my orders. I am very glad to find that your friend has escaped. We accept your present; and you may take him home with you.'

"Wawatam thanked the assembled chiefs, and taking me by the hand, led me to his lodge, which was at the distance

of a few yards only from the prison-lodge. My entrance appeared to give joy to the whole family; food was immediately prepared for me, and I now ate the first hearty meal which I had made since my capture. I found myself one of the family; and but that I had still my fears as to the other Indians, I felt as happy as the situation could allow.

"In the course of the next morning, I was alarmed by a noise in the prison-lodge; and looking through the openings of the lodge in which I was, I saw seven dead bodies of white men dragged forth. Upon my inquiry into the occasion, I was informed that a certain chief, called by the Canadians Le Grand Sable, had not long before arrived from his winter's hunt; and that he, having been absent when the war began, and being now desirous of manifesting to the Indians at large his hearty concurrence in what they had done, had gone into the prison-lodge, and there, with his knife, put the seven men, whose bodies I had seen, to death.

"Shortly after, two of the Indians took one of the dead bodies, which they chose as being the fattest, cut off the head, and divided the whole into five parts, one of which was put into each of five kettles, hung over as many fires, kindled for this purpose at the door of the prison-lodge. Soon after things were so far prepared, a message came to our lodge, with an invitation to Wawatam to assist at the feast.

"An invitation to a feast is given by him who is the master of it. Small cuttings of cedar-wood, of about four inches in length, supply the place of cards; and the bearer, by word of mouth, states the particulars. Wawatam obeyed the summons, taking with him, as is usual, to the place of entertainment, his dish and spoon. After an absence of about half an hour, he returned, bringing in his dish a human hand, and a large piece of flesh. He did not appear to relish the repast, but told me that it was then, and always had

been, the custom among all the Indian nations, when returning from war, or on overcoming their enemies, to make a war-feast from among the slain. This, he said, inspired the warrior with courage in attack, and bred him to meet death with fearlessness.

"In the evening of the same day, a large canoe, such as those which come from Montreal, was seen advancing to the fort. It was full of men, and I distinguished several passengers. The Indian cry was made in the village, a general muster ordered, and, to the number of two hundred, they marched up to the fort, where the canoe was expected to land. The canoe, suspecting nothing, came boldly to the fort, where the passengers, as being English traders, were seized, dragged through the water, beaten, reviled, marched to the prison-lodge, and there stripped of their clothes, and confined.

"Of the English traders that fell into the hands of the Indians, at the capture of the fort, Mr. Tracy was the only one who lost his life. Mr. Ezekiel Solomons and Mr. Henry Bostwick were taken by the Ottawas, and, after the peace, carried down to Montreal, and there ransomed. Of ninety troops, about seventy were killed; the rest, together with those of the posts in the Bay des Puants, and at the river Saint Joseph, were also kept in safety by the Ottawas, till the peace, and then either freely restored, or ransomed at Montreal. The Ottawas never overcame their disgust at the neglect with which they had been treated, in the beginning of the war, by those who afterward desired their assistance as allies."

THE ESCAPE OF HENRY AND OTHERS.

The part the Ottawas played at Michilimackinac will readily explain Indian character. They had rescued Henry and his companions from their captors and bore them back

to the fort, of which they took possession, with the other prisoners, to the dismay of the Chippewas. It was not for any good will to the prisoners, but out of revenge because the Chippewas made the attack without consulting or informing them. They held a council and gave up Henry and some of the prisoners, but the officers and several soldiers were retained and carried to L'Arbre Croche by the Ottawas. Here Father Janois influenced the Indians to treat them with kindness. From that place Etherington sent a letter by Father Janois to Major Gladwin at Detroit, and one to Lieut. Gorell at Green Bay by an Ottawa Indian. These letters both contained brief accounts of the massacre and an entreaty for assistance. The following was addressed to Gorell:

"MICHILIMACKINAC, June 11, 1763.

"DEAR SIR,—This place was taken by surprise on the 4th instant by the Chippewas (Ojibwas), at which time Lieutenant Jamette and twenty men were killed, and all the rest taken prisoners; but our good friends the Ottawas have taken Lieutenant Lesslie, me, and eleven men out of their hands, and have promised to reinstate us again. You'll therefore, on the receipt of this, which I send by a canoe of Ottawas, set out with all your garrison, and what English traders you have with you, and come with the Indian who gives you this, who will conduct you safe to me. You must be sure to follow the instruction you receive from the bearer of this, as you are by no means to come to this post before you see me at the village, twenty miles from this. . . . I must once more beg you'll lose no time in coming to me; at the same time be very careful, and always be on your guard. I long much to see you and am, dear sir,

"Your most humble servant,

"GEO. ETHRINGTON.

"J. Gorell, *Royal Americans.*"

The following is from Parkman: "The Conspiracy of Pontiac," Vol. 2, p. 336, 337. "A copy of the original was procured from the State Paper Office of London."

"Michilimackinac, 12 June, 1763.

"Sir:—Notwithstanding that I wrote you in my last that all the savages were arrived, and that every thing seemed in perfect tranquility, yet, on the 2nd instant, the Chippewas, who live in a place near this fort, assembled to play ball as they have done almost every day since their arrival. They played from morning; then throwing their ball close to the gate, and observing Lieut. Leslie and me a few paces out of it, they came behind us, seized and carried us into the woods.

"In the mean time the rest rushed into the Fort, where they found their squaws whom they had previously planted there, with their hatchets hid under their blankets, which they took, and in an instant killed Lieut. Jaunet and fifteen rank and file, and a trader named Tracy. They wounded two, and took the rest of the garrison, five (seven, Henry) of whom they have since killed.

"They made prisoners of all the English Traders, and robbed them of every thing they had; but they offered no violence to the persons or property of any of the Frenchmen.

"When the massacre was over, Messrs. Langdale and Farlé the interpreter, came down to the place where Lieut. Leslie and me were prisoners; and on their giving themselves as security to return us when demanded, they obtained leave for us to go to the Fort, under a guard of savages, which gave time, by the assistance of the gentlemen above mentioned, to send for the Outaways, who came down on the first notice, and were very much displeased at what the Chippeways had done. Since the arrival of the Outaways they have done everything in their power to serve us, and with what prisoners the Chippeways had given them, and what they have bought, I have now with me Lieut. Leslie and eleven privates; and the other four of the Garrison who are yet living, remain in the hands of the Chippeways.

"The Chippeways who were superior in number to the Ottaways, have declared in Council to them that if they do not remove us out of the Fort, they will cut off all communication to this Post, by which means all the Convoys of Merchants from Montreal, La Baye, St. Joseph, and the upper posts would perish. But if the news of your post being attacked (which they say was the reason why they took up the hatchet) be false, and you can send us a strong reinforce-

ment, with provisions, &c, accompanied by some of your savages, I believe the post might be re-established again.

"Since this affair happened, two canoes arrived from Montreal, which put in my power to make a present to the Ottaway nation, who very well deserve anything that can be done for them.

"I have been very much obliged to Messrs. Langdale and Farlé, the Interpreter, as likewise to the Jesuit, for the many good offices they have done us on this occasion. The Priest seems inclinable to go down to your post for a day or two, which I am very glad of, as he is a very good man, and had a great deal to say with the savages, hereabout, who will believe every thing he tells them on his return, which I hope will be soon. The Outaways say they will take Lieut. Leslie, me, and the eleven men which I mentioned before were in their hands, up to their village, and there keep us, till they hear what is doing at your Post. They have sent this court for that purpose.

"I refer you to the Priest for the particulars of this meloncholy affair and am, Dear Sir,

Yours very sincerely,
(Signed) GEO. ETHERINGTON.

"To Major Gladwin.

"P. S. The Indians that are to carry the Priest to Detroit will not undertake to land him at the Fort, but at some of the Indian villages near it, so you must not take it amiss that he does not pay you the first visit. And once more I beg that nothing may stop your sending of him back, the next day after his arrival, if possible, as we shall be at a great loss for the want of him, and I make no doubt that you will do all in your power to make peace as you see the situation we are in, and send up provision as soon as possible, and ammunition, as what we had was pillaged by the savages,

"Adieu, GEO. ETHERINGTON."

Van Fleet writes:—

"When Father Janois reached Detroit he found the place closely besieged, and consequently no assistance could come from that quarter; but at Green Bay the case was otherwise. With seventeen men, Lieutenant Gorell had taken possession of that post in 1761, and, by a system of good management,

had succeeded in allaying the hostility of the savages and securing the friendship of at least a part of the tribes around him. On receiving Ethrington's letter, Gorell, told the Indians what the Ojibwas had done, and that he and his soldiers were going to Michilimackinac to restore order, adding that, during his absence, he commended the fort to their care. Presents were distributed among them, and advantage taken of every circumstance that could possibly be made to favor the English cause; so that when the party was ready to embark, ninety warriors proposed to escort the garrison on its way.

"Arriving at L'Arbre Croche, where Captain Ethrington, Lieutenant Lesslie, and eleven men were yet detained as prisoners, Gorell received an intimation that the Ottawas intended to disarm his own men also; but he promptly informed them that such an attempt would meet with a vigorous resistance, and the Indians desisted. Several days were now spent in holding councils. The Indians from Green Bay requested the Ottawas to set their prisoners at liberty, to which the latter at length assented. Thinking only of how they might escape the presence of their troublesome and treacherous foes, they prepared to depart. One difficulty, however, yet remained. The Ojibwas had declared that they would prevent the English from passing down to Montreal, and again they had recourse to a Council. A reversion of feeling, as we shall soon see, had already taken place among the Ojibwa chiefs; and at length, though reluctantly, they yielded the point. On the eighteenth day of July, escorted by a fleet of Indian canoes, the English left L'Arbre Croche; and on the thirteenth day of August all arrived in safety at Montreal, leaving not a British soldier in the region of the lakes, except at Detroit."

Let us go back now. Hear Henry to the end of his story:

"In the morning of the ninth of June, a General Council was held, at which it was agreed to remove to the island of Michilimackinac, as a more defensible situation in the event of an attack by the English. The Indians had begun to entertain apprehensions of a want of strength. No news had reached them from the Potawatomies, in the Bay des Puants, and they were uncertain whether or not the Monomins would join them. They even feared that the Sioux would take the English side. This resolution fixed, they prepared for a speedy retreat. At noon the camp was broken up, and we embarked, taking with us the prisoners that were still undisposed of. On our passage, we encountered a gale of wind, and there were some appearances of danger. To avert it, a dog, of which the legs were previously tied together, was thrown into the lake—an offering designed to soothe the angry passions of some offended Manitou.

"As we approached the island, two women in the canoe in which I was, began to utter melancholy and hideous cries. Precarious as my condition still remained, I experienced some sensations of alarm from those dismal sounds, of which I could not then discover the occasion. Subsequently I learned that it is customary for the women, on passing near the burial-places of relations, never to omit the practice of which I was now a witness, and by which they intend to denote their grief.

"By the approach of evening we reached the island in safety, and the women were not long in erecting our cabins. In the morning there was a muster of the Indians, at which there were found three hundred and fifty fighting men. In the course of the day, there arrived a canoe from Detroit, with embassadors, who endeavored to prevail on the Indians to repair thither, to the assistance of Pontiac; but fear was now the prevailing passion. A guard was kept during the

day, and a watch by night, and alarms were very frequently spread. Had an enemy appeared, all the prisoners would have been put to death; and I suspected that, as an Englishman, I should share their fate.

"Several days had now passed, when, one morning, a continued alarm prevailed, and I saw the Indians running in a confused manner toward the beach. In a short time I learned that two large canoes from Montreal were in sight.

"All the Indian canoes were immediately manned, and those from Montreal were surrounded and seized as they turned a point, behind which the flotilla had been concealed. The goods were consigned to a Mr. Levy, and would have been saved if the canoe-men had called them French property; but they were terrified and disguised nothing.

"In the canoes was a large proportion of liquor—a dangerous acquisition, and one which threatened disturbance among the Indians, even to the loss of their dearest friends. Wawatam, always watchful of my safety, no sooner heard the noise of drunkenness which, in the evening, did not fail to begin, than he represented to me the danger of remaining in the village, and owned that he could not himself resist the temptation of joining his comrades in the debauch. That I might escape all mischief, he therefore requested that I would accompany him to the mountain, where I was to remain hidden till the liquor should be drank. We ascended the mountain accordingly. After walking more than half a mile, we came to a large rock, at the base of which was an opening, dark within, and appearing to be the entrance of a cave. Here Wawatam recommended that I should take up my lodging, and by all means remain till he returned.

"On going into the cave, of which the entrance was nearly ten feet wide, I found the further end to be rounded in its shape, like that of an oven, but with a further aperture, too

small, however, to be explored. After thus looking around me, I broke small branches from the trees and spread them for a bed, then wrapped myself in my blanket and slept till daybreak. On awaking, I felt myself incommoded by some object upon which I lay, and, removing it, found it to be a bone. This I supposed to be that of a deer, or some other animal, and what might very naturally be looked for in the place in which I was; but when daylight visited my chamber I discovered, with some feelings of horror, that I was lying on nothing less than a heap of human bones and skulls, which covered all the floor!

"The day passed without the return of Wawatam, and without food. As night approached, I found myself unable to meet its darkness in the charnel-house, which, nevertheless, I had viewed free from uneasiness during the day. I chose, therefore, an adjacent bush for this night's lodging, and slept under it as before; but in the morning I awoke hungry and dispirited, and almost envying the dry bones, to the view of which I returned. At length the sound of a foot reached me, and my Indian friend appeared, making many apologies for his long absence, the cause of which was an unfortunate excess in the enjoyment of his liquor.

"This point being explained, I mentioned the extraordinary sight that had presented itself in the cave to which he had commended my slumbers. He had never heard of its existence before, and, upon examining the cave together, we saw reason to believe that it had been anciently filled with human bodies.

"On returning to the lodge, I experienced a cordial reception from the family, which consisted of the wife of my friend, his two sons, of whom the eldest was married, and whose wife and a daughter of thirteen years of age completed the list.

"Wawatam related to the other Indians the adventure of the bones. All of them expressed surprise at hearing it, and declared that they had never been aware of the contents of this cave before. After visiting it, which they immediately did, almost every one offered a different opinion as to its history. Some advanced, that at a period when the waters overflowed the land (an event which makes a distinguished figure in the history of their world), the inhabitants of this island had fled into the cave, and been there drowned; others, that those same inhabitants, when the Hurons made war upon them (as tradition says they did), hid themselves in the cave, and. being discovered, were there massacred. For myself, I am disposed to believe that this cave was an ancient receptacle of the bones of prisoners sacrificed and devoured at war-feasts. I have always observed that the Indians pay particular attention to the bones of sacrifices, preserving them unbroken, and depositing them in some place kept exclusively for that purpose.

"A few days after this occurrence, Menehwehna (Menava vana), whom I now found to be the great chief of the village of Michilimackinac, came to the lodge of my friend, and when the usual ceremony of smoking was finished, he observed that Indians were now daily arriving from Detroit, some of whom had lost relations or friends in the war, and who would certainly retaliate on any Englishman they found, upon which account his errand was to advise that I should be dressed like an Indian, an expedient whence I might hope to escape all future insult.

"I could not but consent to the proposal; and the chief was so kind as to assist my friend and his family in effecting that very day the desired metamorphosis. My hair was cut off, and my head shaved, with the exception of a spot on the crown of about twice the diameter of a crown-piece. My face

was painted with three or four different colors, some parts of it red, and others black. A shirt was provided for me, painted with vermilion mixed with grease. A large collar of wampum was put round my neck, and another suspended on my breast. Both my arms were decorated with large bands of silver above the elbow, besides several smaller ones on the wrists; and my legs were covered with *mitasses*, a kind of hose, made, as is the favorite fashion, of scarlet cloth. Over all I was to wear a scarlet mantle or blanket, and on my head a large bunch of feathers. I parted, not without some regret, with the long hair which was natural to it, and which I fancied to be ornamental; but the ladies of the family, and of the village in general, appeared to think my person improved, and now condescended to call me handsome, even among Indians.

"Protected in a great measure by this disguise, I felt myself more at liberty than before; and the season being arrived in which my clerks from the interior were to be expected, and some part of my property, as I had a right to hope, recovered, I begged the favor of Wawatam that he would enable me to pay a short visit to Michilimackinac. He did not fail to comply, and I succeeded in finding my clerks; but, either through the disturbed state of the country, as they represented to be the case, or through their misconduct, as I had reason to think, I obtained nothing; and nothing, or almost nothing, I now began to think would be all that I should need during the rest of my life. To fish and to hunt, to collect a few skins and exchange them for necessaries, was all that I seemed destined to do and to acquire for the future.

"I returned to the Indian village, where at this time much scarcity of food prevailed. We were often for twenty-four hours without eating, and when in the morning we had no victuals for the day before us, the custom was to black our

faces with grease and charcoal, and exhibit through resignation a temper as cheerful as if in the midst of plenty. A repetition of the evil, however, soon induced us to leave the island in search of food, and accordingly we departed for the Bay of Boutchitaony, distant eight leagues, and where we found plenty of wild fowl and fish."

Leaving that bay, Henry, with his friend Wawatam and family, came to St. Martin's Island, where, in the enjoyment of an excellent and plentiful supply of food, they remained until the twenty-sixth of August. "At this time," continues the writer, "the autumn being at hand, and a sure prospect of increased security from hostile Indians afforded, Watatam proposed going to his intended wintering-ground, The removal was a subject of the greatest joy to myself; on account of the frequent insults to which I had still to submit from the Indians of our band or village, and to escape from which I would freely have gone almost anywhere. At our wintering-ground we were to be alone; for the Indian families in the countries of which I write separate in the winter season for the convenience as well of subsistence as of the chase, and reassociate in the spring and summer.

"In preparation, our first business was to sail for Michilimackinac, where, being arrived, we procured from a Canadian trader, on credit, some trifling articles, together with ammunition and two bushels of maize. This done, we steered directly for Lake Michigan. At L'Arbre Croche we stopped one day, on a visit to the Ottawas, where all the people, and particularly O'ki'no'chu'ma'ki, the chief—the same who took me from the Chippewas—behaved with great civility and kindness. The chief presented me with a bag of maize."

From L'Arbre Croche they proceeded directly to the mouth of the river Aux Sables, which, Henry tells us, is "on the southern side of the lake," and as they hunted along their

way, Henry enjoyed a personal freedom of which he had long been deprived, and became as expert in the Indian pursuits as the Indians themselves. The winter was spent in the chase. "By degrees," says Henry, "I became familiarized with this kind of life, and had it not been for the idea of which I could not divest my mind, that I was living among savages, and for the whispers of a lingering hope that I should one day be released from it—or if I could have forgotten that I had ever been otherwise than as I then was—I could have enjoyed as much happiness in this as in any other situation."

As spring approached the hunters began their preparations for returning to Michilimackinac, but their faces were no sooner turned toward the scene of the massacre than all began to fear an attack from the English, on account of the constant dreams of the more aged women. Henry labored, but in vain, to allay their fears, but on the twenty-fifth of April the little party embarked in their canoes.

Henry writes: "At La Grande Traverse we met a large party of Indians, who appeared to labor, like ourselves, under considerable alarm, and who dared proceed no further lest they should be destroyed by the English. Frequent councils of the united bands were held, and interrogations were continually put to myself as to whether or not I knew of any design to attack them. I found that they believed it possible for me to have a foreknowledge of events, and to be informed by dreams of all things doing at a distance.

"Protestations of my ignorance were received with but little satisfaction, and incurred the suspicion of a design to conceal my knowledge. On this account, therefore, or because I saw them tormented with fears which had nothing but imagination to rest upon, I told them at length that I knew there was no enemy to insult them, and that they

might proceed to Michilimackinac without danger from the English. I further, and with more confidence, declared that if ever my countrymen returned to Michilimackinac, I would recommend them to their favor, on account of the good treatment which I had received from them. Thus encouraged, they embarked at an early hour the next morning. In crossing the bay, we experienced a storm of thunder and lightning.

"Our port was the village of L'Arbre Croche, which we reached in safety, and where we staid till the following day. At this village we found several persons who had lately been at Michilimackinac, and from them we had the satisfaction of learning that all was quiet there. The remainder of our voyage was therefore performed with confidence.

"In the evening of the twenty-seventh we landed at the fort, which now contained only two French traders. The Indians who had arrived before us were very few in number, and by all who were of our party I was very kindly used. I had the entire freedom both of the fort and camp.

"Wawatam and myself settled our stock, and paid our debts; and, this done, I found that my share of what was left consisted in a hundred beaver-skins, sixty raccoon-skins, and six otter, of the total value of about one hundred and sixty dollars. With these earnings of my winter's toil, I proposed to purchase clothes, of which I was much in need, having been six months without a shirt; but on inquiring into the prices of goods, I found that all my funds would not go far. I was able, however, to buy two shirts, at ten pounds of beaver each; a pair of *leggins*, or padtaloons, of scarlet cloth, which, with the ribbon to garnish them *fashionably*, cost me fifteen pounds of beaver; a blanket, at twenty pounds of beaver; and some other articles at proportionable rates. In this manner my wealth was soon reduced, but not before I

had laid in a good stock of ammunition and tobacco. To the use of the latter I had become much attached through the winter. It was my principal recreation, after returning from the chase; for my companions in the lodge were unaccustomed to pass their time in conversation. Among the Indians the topics of conversation are but few, and limited, for the most part, to the transactions of the day, the number of animals which they have killed, and of those which have escaped their pursuit, and other incidents of the chase. Indeed, the causes of taciturnity among the Indians may be easily understood if we consider how many occasions of speech which present themselves to us are utterly unknown to them, —the records of history, the pursuits of science, the disquisitions of philosophy, the systems of politics, the business and the amusements of the day, and the transactions of the four corners of the world.

"Eight days had passed in tranquillity when there arrived a band of Indians from the Bay of Saguenaum. They had assisted at the siege of Detroit, and came to muster as many recruits for that service as they could. For my own part, I was soon informed that, as I was the only Englishman in the place, they proposed to kill me in order to give their friends a mess of English broth, to raise their courage.

"This intelligence was not of the most agreeable kind, and, in consequence, of receiving it, I requested my friend to carry me to the Sault de Sainte Marie, at which place I knew the Indians to be peaceably inclined, and that M. Cadotte enjoyed a powerful influence over their conduct. They considered M. Cadotte as their chief, and he was not only my friend, but a friend to the English. It was by him that the Chippewas of Lake Superior were prevented from joining Pontiac.

"Wawatam was not slow to exert himself for my preserva-

tion, but, leaving Michilimackinac in the night, transported myself and all his lodge to Point St. Ignace, on the opposite side of the strait. Here we remained till daylight, and then went into the Bay of Boutchitaony, in which we spent three days in fishing and hunting, and where we found plenty of wild fowl. Leaving the bay we made for the Isle aux Outardes, where we were obliged to put in on account of the wind's coming ahead. We proposed sailing for the Sault the next morning.

"But when the morning came Wawatam's wife complained that she was sick, adding that she had had bad dreams, and knew that if we went to the Sault we should all be destroyed. To have argued at this time against the infallibility of dreams would have been extremely unadvisable, since I should have appeared to be guilty, not only of an odious want of faith, but also of a still more odious want of sensibility to the possible calamities of a family which had done so much for the alleviation of mine. I was silent, but the disappointment seemed to seal my fate. No prospect opened to console me. To return to Michilimackinac could only insure my destruction, and to remain at the island was to brave almost equal danger, since it lay in the direct route between the fort and the Missisaki, along which the Indians from Detroit were hourly expected to pass on the business of their mission. I doubted not but, taking advantage of the solitary situation of the family, they would carry into execution their design of killing me.

"Unable therefore to take any part in the direction of our course, but a prey at the same time to the most anxious thoughts as to my own condition, I passed all the day on the highest part to which I could climb of a tall tree, and whence the lake on both sides of the island lay open to my view. Here I might hope to learn at the earliest possible moment

the approach of canoes, and by this means be warned in time to conceal myself.

"On the second morning I returned, as soon as it was light, to my watch-tower, on which I had not been long, before I discovered a sail, coming from Michilimackinac. The sail was a white one, and much larger than those usually employed by the northern Indians. I therefore indulged a hope that it might be a Canadian canoe on its voyage to Montreal, and that I might be able to prevail upon the crew to take me with them, and thus release me from all my troubles.

"My hopes continued to gain strength; for I soon persuaded myself that the manner in which the paddles were used on board the canoe was Canadian, and not Indian. My spirits were elated; but disappointment had become so usual with me, that I could not suffer myself to look to the event with any strength of confidence. Enough, however, appeared at length to demonstrate itself to induce me to descend the tree and repair to the lodge with my tidings and schemes of liberty. The family congratulated me on the approach of so fair an opportunity of escape, and my father and brother (for he was alternately each of these) lit his pipe and presented it to me, saying: 'My son, this may be the last time that ever you and I shall smoke out of the same pipe! I am sorry to part with you. You know the affection which I have always borne you, and the dangers to which I have exposed myself and family to preserve you from your enemies, and I am happy to find that my efforts promise not to have been in vain.' At this time a boy came into the lodge, informing us that the canoe had come from Milchilimackinac, and was bound to the Sault de Sainte Marie. It was manned by three Canadians, and was carrying home Madame Cadotte, wife of M. Cadotte, already mentioned.

"My hopes of going to Montreal being now dissipated, I

resolved on accompanying Madame Cadotte, with her permission, to the Sault. On communicating my wishes to Madame Cadotte, she cheerfully acceded to them. Madame Cadotte, as I have already mentioned, was an Indian woman of the Chippewa nation, and she was very generally respected.

"My departure fixed upon, I returned to the lodge, where I packed up my wardrobe, consisting of my two shirts, pair of *leggins*, and blanket. Besides these, I took a gun and ammunition, presenting what remained further to my host. I also returned the silver arm-bands with which the family had decorated me the year before.

"We now exchanged farewells, with an emotion entirely reciprocal. I did not quit the lodge without the most grateful sense of the many acts of goodness which I had experienced in it, nor without the sincerest respect for the virtues which I had witnessed among its members. All the family accompanied me to the beach, and the canoe had no sooner put off than Wawatam commenced an address to the Ki'chi' Máni'to, beseeching him to take care of me, his brother, till we should next meet. This, he had told me, would not be long, as he intended to return to Michilimackinac for a short time only, and then would follow me to the Sault. We had proceeded to too great a distance to allow of our hearing his voice, before Wawatam had ceased to offer up his prayers.

"Being now no longer in the society of Indians, I laid aside the dress, putting on that of a Canadian—a molton or blanket coat over my shirt, and a handkerchief about my head, hats being very little worn in this country.

"At daybreak on the second morning of our voyage we embarked, and presently perceived several canoes behind us. As they approached, we ascertained them to be the fleet bound for the Mississaki, of which I had been so long in dread. It amounted to twenty sail. On coming up with us

and surrounding our canoe, and amid general inquiries concerning the news, an Indian challenged me for an Englishman, and his companions supported him by declaring that I looked very like one; but I affected not to understand any of the questions which they asked me, and Madame Cadotte assured them that I was a Canadian whom she had brought on his first voyage from Montreal.

"The following day saw us safely landed at the Sault, where I experienced a generous welcome from M. Cadotte. There were thirty warriors at this place, restrained from joining in the war only by M. Cadotte's influence. Here for five days I was once more in the possession of tranquility; but on the sixth a young Indian came into M. Cadotte's, saying that a canoe full of warriors had just arrived from Michlimackinac; that they had inquired for me, and that he believed their intentions to be bad. Nearly at the same time a message came from the good chief of the village, desiring me to conceal myself until he should discover the views and temper of the strangers. A garret was a second time my place of refuge; and it was not long before the Indians came to M. Cadotte's. My friend immediately informed Mut'chi'ki'wish, their chief, who was related to his wife, of the design imputed to them of mischief against myself. Mutchikiwish frankly acknowledged that they had had such a design, but added that, if displeasing to M. Cadotte, it should be abandoned. He then further stated that their errand was to raise a party of warriors to return with them to Detroit, and that it had been their intention to take me with them.

"In regard to the principal of the two objects thus disclosed, M. Cadotte proceeded to assemble all the chiefs and warriors of the village; and these, after deliberating for some time among themselves, sent for the strangers, to whom both M. Cadotte and the chief of the village addressed a speech.

In these speeches, after recurring to the designs confessed to have been entertained against myself, who was now declared to be under the immediate protection of all the chiefs, by whom any insult I might sustain would be avenged, the embassadors were peremptorily told that they might go back as they came, none of the young men of this village being foolish enough to join them.

"A moment after, a report was brought that a canoe had just arrived from Niagara. As this was a place from which every one was anxious to hear news, a message was sent to these fresh strangers, requesting them to come to the Council. They came accordingly, and, being seated, a long silence ensued. At length, one of them, taking up a belt of wampum, addressed himself thus to the assembly: 'My friends and brothers, I am come with this belt from our great father, Sir William Johnson. He desired me to come to you, as his embassador, and tell you that he is making a great feast at Fort Niagara; that his kettles are all ready, and his fires lit. He invites you to partake of the feast, in common with your friends the Six Nations, which have all made peace with the English. He advises you to seize this opportunity of doing the same, as you can not otherwise fail of being destroyed; for the English are on their march with a great army, which will be joined by different nations of Indians. In a word, before the fall of the leaf they will be at Michilimackinac, and the Six Nations with them.'

"The tenor of this speech greatly alarmed the Indians of the Sault, who, after a very short consultation, agreed to send twenty deputies to Sir William Johnson, at Niagara. This was a project highly interesting to me, since it afforded me the means of leaving the country. I intimated this to the chief of the village, and received his promise that I should accompany the deputation.

"Very little time was proposed to be lost in setting forward on the voyage; but the occasion was of too much magnitude not to call for more than human knowledge and discretion; and preparations were accordingly made for solemnly invoking and consulting the GREAT TURTLE. In this, the first thing to be done, was the building of a large house or wigwam, within which was placed a species of tent, for the use of the priest, and reception of the spirit. The tent was formed of moose-skins, hung over a frame-work of wood. Five poles, or rather pillars, of five different species of timber, about ten feet in height, and eight inches in diameter, were set in a circle of about four feet in diameter. The holes made to receive them were about two feet deep; and the pillars being set, the holes were filled up again with the earth which had been dug out. At the top, the pillars were bound together by a circular hoop, or girder. Over the whole of this edifice were spread the moose-skins, covering it at top and round the sides, and made fast with thongs of the same; except that on one side a part was left unfastened, to admit of the entrance of the priest.

"The ceremonies did not commence but with the approach of night. To give light within the house, several fires were kindled round the tent. Nearly the whole village assembled in the house, and myself among the rest. It was not long before the priest appeared, almost in a state of nakedness. As he approached the tent, the skins were lifted up as much as was necessary to allow of his creeping under them, on his hands and knees. His head was scarcely inside, when the edifice, massy as it has been described, began to shake; and the skins were no sooner let fall than the sounds of numerous voices were heard beneath them; some yelling, some barking as dogs, some howling like wolves; and in this horrible concert were mingled screams and sobs, as of despair, anguish,

and the sharpest pain. Articulate speech was also uttered, as if from human lips, but in a tongue unknown to any of the audience.

"After some time, these confused and frightful noises were succeeded by a perfect silence; and now a voice, not heard before seemed to manifest the arrival of a new character in the tent. This was a low and feeble voice, resembling the cry of a young puppy. The sound was no sooner distinguished, than all the Indians clapped their hands for joy, exclaiming that this was the Chief Spirit—the TURTLE—the spirit that never lied! Other voices, which they had discriminated from time to time, they had previously hissed, as recognizing them to belong to evil and lying spirits, which deceived mankind. New sounds came from the tent. During the space of half an hour, a succession of songs were heard, in which a diversity of voices met the ear. From his first entrance, till these songs were finished, we heard nothing in the proper voice of the priest; but now he addressed the multitude, declaring the presence of the GREAT TURTLE, and the spirit's readiness to answer such questions as should be proposed.

"The questions were to come from the chief of the village, who was silent, however, till after he had put a large quantity of tobacco into the tent, introducing it at the aperture. This was a sacrifice, offered to the spirit; for spirits are supposed, by the Indians, to be as fond of tobacco as themselves. The tobacco accepted, he desired the priest to inquire,—Whether or not the English were preparing to make war upon the Indians? and, whether or not there were at Fort Niagara a large number of English troops? These questions having been put by the priest, the tent instantly shook; and for some seconds after, it continued to rock so violently that I expected to see it leveled with the ground. All this was a prelude, as

I supposed, to the answers to be given; but a terrific cry announced, with sufficient intelligibility, the departure of the TURTLE.

"A quarter of an hour elapsed in silence, and I waited impatiently to discover what was to be the next incident in this scene of imposture. It consisted in the return of the spirit, whose voice was again heard, and who now delivered a continued speech. The language of the GREAT TURTLE, like that which we had heard before, was wholly unintelligible to every ear, that of the priest excepted; and it was therefore, not till the latter gave us an interpretation, which did not commence before the spirit had finished, that we learned the purport of this extraordinary communication.

"'The spirit, as we were now informed by the priest, had, during his short absence, crossed Lake Huron, and even proceeded as far as Fort Niagara, which is at the head of Lake Ontario, and thence to Montreal. At Fort Niagara he had seen no great number of soldiers; but, on descending the St. Lawrence as low as Montreal, he had found the river covered with boats, and the boats filled with soldiers, in number like the leaves of the trees. He had met them on their way up the river, coming to make war upon the Indians.

"'The chief had a third question to propose; and the spirit without a fresh journey to Fort Niagara, was able to give it an instant and most favorable answer. 'If,' said the chief, 'the Indians visit Sir William Johnson, will they be received as friends?'

"'Sir William Johnson,' said the spirit (and after the spirit, the priest), 'Sir William Johnson will fill their canoes with presents: with blankets, kettles, guns, gunpowder, and shot, and large barrels of rum, such as the stoutest of the Indians will not be able to lift; and every man will return in safety to his family.' At this, the transport was universal;

and, amid the clapping of hands, a hundred voices exclaimed, 'I will go too! I will go too!'

"The questions of public interest being resolved, individuals were now permitted to seize the opportunity of inquiring into the condition of their absent friends, and the fate of such as were sick. I observed that the answers given to these questions allowed of much latitude of interpretation.

"The GREAT TURTLE continued to be consulted till near midnight, when all the crowd dispersed to their respective lodges.

"I was on the watch, through the scene I have described, to detect the particular contrivances by which the fraud was carried on; but such was the skill displayed in the performance, or such my deficiency of penetration, that I made no discoveries, but came away, as I went, with no more than those general surmises which will naturally be entertained by every reader."

Henry accompanied the Indian deputation, and reached Fort Niagara in safety, where he was received in the most cordial manner by Sir William Johnson.

You will doubtless be interested to know the fate of Minavavana, or the Grand Saulteur who led the Ojibwas at the massacre of Michilimackinac. The following note is from J. Carver, Esq., an English gentleman who visited Michilimackinac in the year 1766, three years after the massacre:

"The first I accosted were Chippewas, inhabiting near the Ottowau lakes, who received me with great cordiality, and shook me by the hand in token of friendship. At some little distance behind these stood a chief, remarkably tall and well made, but of so stern an aspect that the most undaunted person could not behold him without feeling some degree of terror. He seemed to have passed the meridian of life, and by the mode in which he was painted and tattooed, I dis-

covered that he was of high rank. However, I approached him in a courteous manner, and expected to have met with the same reception I had done from the others; but, to my great surprise, he withheld his hand, and looking fiercely at me, said in the Chippewa tongue, 'Caurin nishishin saganosh'; that is, 'The English are no good.' As he had his tomahawk in his hand, I expected that this laconic sentence would have been followed by a blow, to prevent which I drew a pistol from my belt, and holding it in a careless position, passed close by him, to let him see I was not afraid of him.

"I learned soon after, from the other Indians, that this was a chief called by the French the Grand Saulteur, or the Great Chippewa Chief; for they denominate the Chippewas, Saulteurs. They likewise told me that he had been always a steady friend to that people, and when they delivered up Michilimackinac to the English, on their evacuation of Canada, the Great Saulteur had sworn that he would ever remain the avowed enemy of its new possessors, as the territories on which the fort is built belonged to him.

"Since I came to England I have been informed that the Grand Saulteur, having rendered himself more and more disgustful to the English by his inveterate enmity toward them, was at length stabbed in his tent, as he encamped near Michilimackinac, by a trader." (Carver's Travels.)

A little more than a year after the massacre, Michilimackinac was occupied by the *coureurs de bois* and such Indian bands as chose to make it a temporary residence; but after the treaty with the Indians, Captain Howard, with a detachment of troops, was sent by Col. Bradstreet to take possession of it, and "once more the cross of St. George was a rallying point, and the protection of the adventurous traders."

IMPORTANCE OF MICHILIMACKINAC.

After a treaty of peace had been made with the Indians, and the fort reoccupied by Capt. Howard's forces, confidence was restored, and the fur trade resumed.

Sir William Johnson wrote to Gen'l Gage. "Johnson Hall, Jany. 15th, 1767." Extract. "As Michilimakinak seems now to be our principal mart of trade and that for sevl reasons it should be well and Duly Inspected I think a Com_ issr there very necessary and shall be glad of your thoughts about it, which if agreeable to mine, I shall remove one of the Comissr to that place early in the spring." * * * (p. 835 Doc. Hist. N. Y.)

Reply of "Gen'l Gage to Sir Wm. Johnson, New York, Jany 25th, 1767."

Extract. "Michilimakinak seems to be the most material Post we have, and certainly more necessary for a Commissary than any other.

"Sir Henry Moore shall be acquainted with your desire concerning the Traders being obliged to take passes.

"It is reported that all the Traders who came this year to Missilimackinac have been permitted to ramble wherever they chose." * * * * * Tho's. Gage."

"Sir. Wm. Johnson, Bart. Johnson's Hall. (p 873 Doc. Hist. N. Y.)

"For the next thirteen years the history of the post appears to have been the usual military routine with the annual gathering and departure of the fur-traders, until the garrison was removed to Michilimackinac Island in 1780–81.

1780. Michilimackinac Island and the present Fort Mackinac ("Michilimackinac.")

FORT MACKINAC, LOOKING EASTWARD.

The following year, 1764, after the massacre, at South Fort Michilimackinac the French began to move to the island and the present settlement may be said to date from that period. Although the scene of action, during the war of 1775–83, was far from the region of the straits of Mackinac the island had its part in that revolution. It was selected on account of its commanding position, adaptability for defense, with a small force, and strategic importance, and garrisoned.

From fear of attack by the United States forces, and "as a measure of safety," Major A. S. DePeyester commanding (South) Fort Michilimackinac, and under instructions, with: "In 1779, a party of British Officers, passed over from the point of the peninsula to the island of Michilimackinac to reconnoiter, with the intention of removing the fort thither. After selecting a location, they asked permission of the Indians to occupy it. Some time elapsed before their consent could be obtained; consequently the removal was not effected until the ensuing summer. A government house and a few other buildings were erected on the site of the present village, and the troops took possession on the 15th of July, 1780.

"The removal of the inhabitants from the main land to the island was gradual, and the fort which was built on the site of the present one, was not completed until 1783."

On the 4th of October, 1779, Major Patrick Sinclair, Lieut. Governor, arrived and assumed command of (South) Michilimackinac, relieving Major De Peyster, who left, Oct. 15th, on His Majesty's Sloop of War, "Welcome," bound for Detroit.

There was, many years, packed away with my old books and papers, the original parchment deed of the Island of Michilimackinac, from the Indians, in 1781, to King George III. It is missing, and was presented to me through Ronald McLeod of the Astor House, who owned the Fur Co.'s

papers and books. Maj. Sinclair sent to the island, Nov. 6, 1779, the sloop of war "Welcome," with workmen and the timbers of a house to be erected for them to live in. The government house was erected in the garden, below the present fort, on the level, nearly in front of where the stable now stands.

February and March, 1780, when the ice was firm, the Catholic church, on the south shore, was taken down, the logs hauled over, and the church re-built on the "old cemetery" lot on Market street, and (old) Church street. A government wharf was built of log cribs, filled with stone, in the bay in the front of the present south sally-port of the fort. On the 4th of November Lieut. Governor and Commander Sinclair moved over to the island and established his headquarters.

During the winter of 1780-81 the sloops "Welcome," "Angelica," "Archangel," and schooner "De Peyster" laid up at the island in the harbor. A block house was completed east of the government house, on the present school lot, and in January the crews of the vessels were quartered therein.

During the fall of 1780 the sash, doors and casings and other wood work of many buildings were sent over in vessels to the island; and in the following winter the logs and timbers taken down were hauled over on the ice. Pine and cedar logs and timbers were also whip-sawed at Pine river, on the north shore, and transported. When spring came, the traders pulled down their buildings and rafted them to the island, where the logs were again put up. Their provisions and goods were sent in boats. The entire movement of the troops was not completed until late in the summer of 1781.

The stone quarters for officers, block houses, magazines, and walls of the fort appear to have been constructed of the

hard limestone formation of the Island, quarried near by, with an idea of the security and permanency of the British Empire. Wells were dug for water supply, and there was a system for elevating water through lead pipes (bore 1½ inch diameter) from springs at the foot of the hill, west of the fort. Water is now forced up by steam pump from the same source into a reservoir in the second story of the north block-house, and from thence distributed about the fort. Water was also conveyed through long piping to the stores, ware-houses and dwellings of the fur company. Apple, cherry and plum orchards were planted, with currants and gooseberries in the gardens. All accounts show that they raised the finest of fruits and vegetables. Some of the apple trees are there to this day, and can be found at St. Ignace and vicinity, on Bois Blanc, Drummond's and St. Joseph's islands. All of these fruits, and pears, raspberries, blackberries, strawberries and hardy vegetables grow to perfection in this region. The British continued to improve the fort and strengthen the position until 1796, when their troops were withdrawn to St. Joseph's Island. The ditches, without the stockade were not then completed and no work has since been done on them. The site, except for barracks, is only tenable in connection with the higher Fort George ("Holmes") plateau, Mackinac's elevations and strategic positions, collectively, have been declared to be, "by nature, a perfect Gibralter." See p. 170.

HISTORICAL RESUME AND LIST OF OFFICERS, FRENCH AND ENGLISH, AT MICHILIMACKINAC.

1634. John Nicolet passes through the straits convoyed to Green Bay.

1665. Nicholas Perrot, interpreter and officer, passes the straits to Green Bay.

1669. Father Allouez, S. J. in the straits, at St. Martin's Islands, St. Ignace, and Michilimackinac Island bound for Green Bay.

1669–71. Father Dablon, S. J., at Michilimackinac Island.

1670–71. Father Jaques Marquette, S. J., at Michilimackinac Island.

1671. Mission at St. Ignace du Michilimackinac founded by Marquette by direction of Dablon.

1672. Dec. 1. Joliet arrived at St. Ignace.

1673. Marquette and Joliet start on their voyage of discovery.

1679. Robert Cavelier de La Salle, with Henry DeTonty, Du Lhut and Father Hennepin arrive, Aug. 27, at St. Ignace, on the "Griffon," and spend some days.

1680–81. Du Lhut winters at St. Ignace.

1681. M. De Villeraye commanding Michilimackinac.

1684. M. de la Durantaye commanding Michilimackinac.

1684. M. de la Valtrie acting commander of Michilimackinac, while Du Lhut and Perrot, with Ottawas, are in La Barre's campaign against the Iroquois.

1685. M. de la Durantaye commanding Michilimackinac and dependencies.

1688. Baron La Houtan at Michilimackinac.

1690. M. de la Porc Louvigny commanding Michilimackinac and dependencies.

1694. M. de la Motte Cadillac commanding Michilimackinac and dependencies.

1695. Cadillac advises an expedition against the Iroquois that takes the field, and many prisoners are brought back by the Michilimackinac Indians. Frontenac orders nine posts, among them Green Bay and Sault Ste. Marie, placed subject to the command of Cadillac. A treaty of peace made by Le Baron, a Huron chief, with the Iroquois. Thirty Iroquois scalps brought to Michilimackinac, and thirty-two prisoners, by the Potawatomies and other Algonquin Indians.

1701. Cadillac leaves Michilimackinac (St. Ignace), to found Detroit and Fort Pontchartrain, taking many Indians with him. Perrot and Father Enjabron at Michilimackinac.

1702–3. The Hurons and more Ottawas go to Detroit.

1705. The Jesuits burn their church at St. Ignace and move, with most of the French, to Quebec.

1712. Fort Michilimackinac regarrisoned by M. De Louvigny and command.

1721. Father Charlevoix visits Michilimackinac.

1728. M. De Lignery's expedition from South Michilimackinac.

1730. M. de Buisson comd'g (South) Michilimackinac.

1743. M. de Blainville, Commandant, Michilimackinac.

1744. M. de Vivchevet, Commandant; Michilimackinac.

1745. Louis de la Corne, Capt. and King's Commandant, Michilimackinac.

1747. M. de Noyelle, jr., Commandant, Michilimackinac.

1748. M. Jacques Legardeur St. Pierre, Commandant, Michilimackinac.

1750. M. Duplessis Faber, Capt. and King's Commandant, Michilimackinac.

1753–54. M. Beaujeu de Villemonde, Capt. and King's Commandant, Michilimackinac.

1754–55. Mons Herbin, Capt. and King's Commandant, Michilimackinac.

1758–60. M. Beaujeu de Villemonde, Capt. and King's Commandant, Michilimackinac.

1761. Capt. Belfour, 80th Regt., comd'g Michilimackinac.

1761. Oct. 21st, Lieut. Leslie, 60th Royal Amer., comd'g Michilimackinac.

1763. Geo. Etherington, Capt. 60th Royal Amer., comd'g Michilimackinac.

1763. Massacre at Michilimackinac (now "Mackinaw"), June 4th.

1764. Capt. Howard, comd'g Michilimackinac.

1774–79. A. S. De Peyster, Major, comd'g Michilimackinac and dependencies.

1779–82. Patrick Sinclair, Major, comd'g Michilimackinac and dependencies.

July 15th, 1780, Major Sinclair transferred part of his troops to Michilimackinac ("Mackinac") Island and there established the 3d Fort Michilimackinac; and, Nov. 4th, following, Sinclair himself removed to the island permanently.

1782–87. Daniel Robertson, Capt., comd'g Michilimackinac and dependencies.

1791–96. Edward Charleton, Capt. 5th Regt. Foot, comd'g Michilimackinac.

1796. Occupation of Michilimackinac Island by the troops of the United States.

MICHILIMACKINAC UNDER THE UNITED STATES.

At the close of 1775-83 the independence of the United States of America was acknowledged by Great Britain and by the terms of the Treaty of Paris, September 3, 1783, the post of Michilimackinac ("Mackinac"), with others on the lakes, became a part of the Republic. On various pretexts the British retained possession of this and other forts until after the treaty promulgated on the 29th of February, 1796, in which it was stipulated that all British troops should be withdrawn from posts within the boundaries by June 1, 1796. By a treaty between the United States and the Potawatomies, Chippewas, Ottawas, Shawnees, Delawares and other Indian tribes, at Greeville, Ohio, August 3, 1795, the Indians ceded the fort of Michilimackinac and Island, with the adjacent main land, wherever the title of the Indians had been extinguished by grants and gifts to the French and English governments, and a piece of land north of Michilimackinac Island, on the main shore, to measure six miles along the strait between Lakes Huron and Michigan, extending three miles back from the water. The Chippewas also included Bois Blanc Island as a voluntary gift.

1796. The first United States troops to occupy Fort Michilimackinac, on the island, was the command of Major Henry Burbeck, who, with one company of Artillerists and Engineers, and a company of the 1st Infantry and three officers arrived in October, 1796, and took possession. In 1802, Rev. David Bacon, Presbyterian, who had been for two years a missionary at Detroit, sent by the Connecticut Board of Missions, was assigned to Mackinac Island to preach and teach. He was the first Protestant clergyman to the island, but was

re-called in August, 1804. Until 1812 matters appear to have been conducted without disturbance, the only excitement being the business of the Fur Company, and the annual arrival and departure of the "Brigade Commanders," with their men, boats and outfits, to the various trapping and trading stations.

List of United States Army Officers Stationed at Fort Michilimackinac from 1796 to 1812, A. D.

Henry Burbeck, Major, Artillerists and Engineers, 1796.
Ebenezer Massay, Lieut., Artillerists and Engineers, 1796.
Abner Prior, Captain, 1st Infantry, 1796.
John Michael, Lieut., 1st Infantry, 1796.
John Wiley, 1st Lieut., Artillerists and Engineers, 1800.
Thomas Hunt, Major, 1st Artillerists and Engineers, 1802.
Josiah Dunham, Capt., Artillerists and Engineers, 1802.
Francis LeBarron, Surgeon's Mate, 1802.
Jacob Kingsbury, Lieut. Colonel, 1st Infantry, 1804.
Jonathan Eastman, 1st Lieutenant, Artillerists, 1807.
*Lewis Howard, Captain, Artillerists, 1808.
Porter Hanks, 1st Lieutenant, Artillerists, 1808.
Archibald Darragh, 2d Lieutenant, Artillerists, 1808.
Sylvester Day, Garrison Surgeon's Mate, 1810.

*Died January 13, 1811.

WAR OF 1812-15.

June 19, 1812, in accordance with declarative Act of Congress, President Madison proclaimed war with Great Britain.

During that war the British generally, got the worst of it on the sea, and the United States on the land, until the final battle of New Orleans (fought January 8th, 1815, after peace had been concluded) when the British forces were defeated. Without noting what occurred elsewhere we shall confine ourselves to the operations at Mackinac Island and vicinity.

In the spring of 1812 Fort Mackinac was all within the inner intersecting lines of the three block-houses and the slope in front very much as it is now; there were no buildings without the lines. The only approaches were through the south and north arched sally-ports, each provided with a portcullis, that could be instantly dropped. They were, both, additionally secured by gates, double planked, that could be closed at any time during the night or day. Strong, squared, cedar "palisades" pickets, were set vertically on the walls and in the ground intersecting the inner lines of the block-houses. They were about 10 feet high, pointed at the top, pierced at intervals, by two rows of loop-holes, (one-half on two adjoining pickets) for musketry, angled from within outwards so that the fire could be delivered, standing or kneeling at the enemy in any direction. Near the block-houses strong, three-pronged, sharp, iron spikes, were set in the apexes of the pickets and like spikes and pointed hooks wherever the ground approaches seemed to favor scaling parties. The block-houses were armed with iron carronades that protected the picket walls of the fort and iron guns were planted at convenient places so as to rake the hill-sides and other approaches.

Lieut. Hanks commanding Fort Mackinac and the people of the island generally, had reason to expect a declaration of war and measures for safety were taken. The British commander at St. Joseph's Island, Capt. Charles Roberts, 10th Royal Veteran Battalion, got the first notification. It is believed it reached Roberts through the agents of the fur companies, as the traders of the Mackinac company were mostly English, and both companies were unfriendly to the United States. He was advised in the message from General Brock, his superior, to attack the fort of Michilimackinac at once, as the best means of preserving his own position. Capt. Roberts received the message July 15th. On the morning of the 16th he embarked for Michilimackinac, on the N. W. Fur Co's ship, "Caledonia," with two iron six pounders, ten batteaux and seventy canoes. His force consisted of 42 regulars and 4 officers, 260 Canadians, 572 Chippewas and Ottawas, 56 Sioux, 48 Winnebagoes, and 39 Menomonies, being 306 white men and 718 Indians, all told 1021.

At 3 o'clock A. M., July 17th, they arrived at the northwest bay, facing St. Ignace, and began to debark. The Canadians attached ropes to the guns and hauled one of them to the top of the hill commanding the fort. The other gun was brought over in the same way and planted in the rear of the fort, just before daybreak. At 11:30 A. M. an officer with a flag of truce, approached and demanded the surrender of the fort. The official report of Lieut. Hanks will give the cause and reasons.

Copy of the official report of Lieut. Porter Hanks, to General Hull, announcing the surrender of Fort Michilimackinac, July 17th, 1812, "to his Britannic Majesty's forces:"

"DETROIT, August 12th, 1812.

"SIR—I take the earliest opportunity to acquaint Your Excellency of the surrender of the garrison of Michilimackinac, under my command, to his Britannic Majesty's forces under the command of Captain Charles Roberts, on the 17th ultimo, the particulars of which are as follows: On the 16th, I was informed by the Indian Interpreter that he had discovered from an Indian that the several nations of Indians then at St. Joseph (a British garrison, distant about forty miles) intended to make an immediate attack on Michilimackinac.

"I was inclined, from the coolness I had discovered in some of the principal chiefs of the Ottawa and Chippewa nations, who had but a few days before professed the greatest friendship for the United States, to place confidence in this report.

"I immediately called a meeting of the American gentlemen at that time on the island, in which it was thought proper to dispatch a confidential person to St. Joseph to watch the motions of the Indians.

"Captain Michael Dousman, of the militia, was thought the most suitable for this service. He embarked about sunset, and met the British forces within ten or fifteen miles of the island, by whom he was made prisoner and put on his parole of honor. He was landed on the island at daybreak, with positive directions to give me no intelligence whatever. He was also instructed to take the inhabitants of the village, indiscriminately, to a place on the west side of the island where their persons and property should be protected by a British guard, but should they go to the Fort, they would be subject to a general massacre by the savages, which would be inevitable if the garrison fired a gun. This information I received from Dr. Day, who was passing through the village when every person was flying for refuge to the enemy. I immediately, on being informed of the approach of the enemy, placed ammunition, etc., in the Block houses; ordered every gun charged, and made every preparation for action. About 9 o'clock I could discover that the enemy were in possession of the heights that commanded the Fort, and one piece of their artillery directed to the most defenseless part of the garrison. The Indians at this time were to be seen in great numbers in the edge of the woods.

"At half past 11 o'clock the enemy sent in a flag of truce, demanding a surrender of the Fort and island to his Britannic Majesty's forces. This, Sir, was the first information I had of the declaration of war; I, however, had anticipated it, and was as well prepared to meet such an event as I possibly could have been with the force under my command, amounting to 57 effective men, including officers. Three American gentlemen, who were prisoners, were permitted to accompany the flag: from them I ascertained the strength of the enemy to be from nine hundred to one thousand strong, consisting of regular troops, Canadians and savages; that they had two pieces of artillery, and were provided with ladders and ropes for the purpose of scaling the works, if necessary. After I had obtained this information, I consulted my officers, and also the American gentlemen present, who were very intelligent men; the result of which was, that it was impossible for the garrison to hold out against such a superior force. In this opinion I fully concurred, from the conviction that it was the only measure that could prevent a general massacre. The Fort and garrison were accordingly surrendered.

"The enclosed papers exhibit copies of the correspondence between the officer commanding the British forces and myself, and of the articles of capitulation. This subject involved questions of a peculiar nature; and I hope, Sir, that my demands and protests will meet the approbation of my government. I cannot allow this opportunity to escape without expressing my obligation to Doctor Sylvester Day, for the service he rendered me in conducting this correspondence.

"In consequence of this unfortunate affair, I beg leave, Sir, to demand that a Court of Inquiry may be ordered to investigate all the facts connected with it; and I do further request, that the court may be specially directed to express their opinion on the merits of the case.

"I have the honor to be, Sir,

* * * * * *

"PORTER HANKS,

"*Lieutenant of Artillery.*"

"His Excellency General HULL,

"*Commanding the N. W. Army.*"

P. S. * * "It may be also remarked that one hundred and fifty

Chippewas and Ottawas joined the British forces two days after the capitulation. P. H."

CAPITULATION.

By the terms of that instrument, agreement between Captain Charles Roberts, commanding his Britannic Majesty's forces, and Lieut. Porter Hanks, commanding those of the United States of America, the fort and islands were to be surrendered and the troops allowed to march out with the honors of war, and then deliver their arms. They were to be sent to United States stations as paroled prisoners of war, on their honor, not to fight until exchanged. All private property of individuals was to be respected and the vessels in the harbor, with their cargoes. All citizens of the United States who refused to take the oath of allegiance to the British King were allowed to leave the island within one month from the date of the surrender.

Lieut. Hanks had but fifty-seven effective men and five sick men and a drummer boy. Taking into consideration the odds against him and the fact that he did not know that war existed, or had been declared, also the unfriendly disposition of the Fur Companies, coupled with the temper of the Indians, whom the Fur Companies influenced and largely controlled, resistance would have been hopeless and fatal.

The other officers besides Lieut. Hanks surrendered and paroled, were 2d Lieut. Archibald Darrah and Dr. Sylvester Day, Garrison Surgeon's Mate. Dr. Day had quarters without the fort, in the village, in a house on Market street, at the head of "Old" Church street; the lot now belongs to the Donnelly estate. Capt. Michael Dousman, whom Lieut. Hanks dispatched to watch the motions of the Indians, and was captured by Roberts, was an agent of the South West Fur Company, of which John Jacob Astor was president. Mr. Dousman had in the winter sent Wm. Aikins and John

Drew to trade and purchase furs of the Lake Superior Indians. He heard they had returned to Sault Ste. Marie, and judged from the actions of the Mackinac Indians, there was cause for their non-appearance at the island. When Mr. Dousman returned to the island he called at the house of Mr. Ambrose Davenport and notified him, next on Dr. Day, and in turn, the citizens. Dr. Day went immediately to the fort. The people all gathered at the "Distillery," for refuge, where the British, after landing, placed a guard. The "Distillery" was near the Indian cemetery, under the bluff to the west of the village. The three gentlemen, prisoners, referred to by Lieut. Hanks, and who accompanied the flag of truce, were John Dousman, Samuel Abbott and Ambrose R. Davenport.

At that time the village was small and compact. The houses were one-story log structures roofed with bark, except the two-storied (Dr. Mitchell) residence with mansard roof, now standing, on Market street. There were, in the harbor, nine small vessels, each with an average crew of five or six men. Two other vessels arrived after the surrender, loaded with furs. All the building lots, gardens and government inclosure were fenced, for protection, by high cedar pickets, firmly set in the ground, that gave the town a weird and foreign aspect. Many stumps of pickets can be traced, on dividing lines, to this day, and some shortened ones are still standing.

After the surrender the citizens were assembled at the government house to have the oath of allegiance to the British Crown administered, which most of them willingly took. Messrs. Samuel Abbott, Stone, Bostwick, Davenport and Dousman brothers, refusing to subscribe to the oath, were sent away with the soldiers. Michael Dousman was allowed to remain neutral.

BRITISH OCCUPATION OF THE CAPTURED FORT MICHILIMACKINAC AND ISLAND.

The British troops held the fort and island until the summer of 1815, after the close of the war. They constructed, armed, and equipped the strong earthwork and out-works on the "Heights above Michilimackinac," which they named "Fort George," in compliment to their king. The citizens of the island were compelled to assist in building that redoubt. In the center of the oblong, within, a pit was excavated, over which was erected a square block-house and magazine made of cedar logs hewed. There were two bomb-proof lookouts in advance, right and left of the gateway, connected with the fort by covered, underground ways. In advance of

BLOCK HOUSE, ERECTED 1780.

these, on the edge of the hill, each facing southward and westward, gun platforms, mounted with iron cannon, that

covered the lower fort, and raked all the approaches. The face of the earthwork within the moat was set with three rows, interlaced, of sharpened, pointed cedar stakes, inclined in as many angles, so arranged as to render it about impossible for an enemy to get to the top of the parapet alive. There were iron guns mounted within the fort; the slope without the ditch was cleared of all obstructions, and the trees on the plateau below felled. The plateau in rear of the earthwork was also cleared and used as a drill and parade ground.

1814. A FLEET SAILS TO MICHILIMACKINAC.

Although the British had captured the island key of the straits, without bloodshed, they were in constant fear of attack from the land and naval forces of the United States.

After the memorable naval battle near the head of Lake Erie between Perry and Barclay, Sept. 10th, 1813, where the entire British fleet of six vessels was captured, or destroyed, the tide had turned and the chances of invasion were imminent.

April, 1814, an expedition was proposed to capture Michilimackinac and destroy certain vessels; the enemy were said to be constructing, at Gloucester, on Matchadash Bay, south-eastern extremity of Lake Huron. In accordance with orders issued June 2d, following, a fleet of vessels was fitted out consisting of U. S. sloops of war, "Niagara" and "Lawrence," each twenty guns, and the smaller schooners, "Tigress," "Detroit," "Caledonia," "Scorpion," and others, Capt. Sinclair (commodore), on board, with a land

force of seven hundred and fifty officers and men. Lieut. Col. Croghan, commanding. Ambrose R. Davenport, of Mackinac Island, was quartermaster and guide.

They sailed July 3d, and entered Lake Huron the 12th instant, and made for the entrance of Matchadash Bay. It was the largest and strongest fleet that had ever ridden the waters of the lake. Continuous fogs delayed them, and, not having a pilot, the many shoals and reefs at the inlet of the bay threatened sore destruction. It takes an expert sailor, with the best modern charts, to enter Georgian Bay in good, clear weather.

Deeming the entrance unsafe the squadron sailed for the head of the lake. Then it was decided to leave part of the fleet to cruise about the island, and with the rest of them to go to St. Joseph's, and destroy that fort before going to Michilimackinac. If they had assailed the island first, it is thought, it might have been taken (as it occurred in 1812), without firing a shot, as the enemy had only one small company in the fort. The delay allowed the British time to fortify and secure Canadian and Indian allies, which led to the subsequent defeat of the United States invading forces. Col. Croghan arrived, with the detached expedition, at St. Joseph's Island, July 20th, and burned the fort but left the town and N. W. Fur Co.'s warehouses intact. Whilst there, wind bound, he captured that company's schooner, "Mink," bound up from Mackinac Island to Sault Ste. Marie loaded with flour. From parties on the "Mink" he learned the flour was to be transported to Fort Williams, by the schooner Perseverence then waiting above the falls.

Lieut. Turner, with a naval party, was dispatched to capture the schooner, and, if possible, to get her below the falls. Maj. Holmes, with regulars, was in command, intending to get possession of the fort of Sault Ste. Marie and destroy it.

Lieutenant Turner's report to Commodore Sinclair relates what was accomplished:

"U. S. Schooner "Scorpion," off Michilimackinac,
July 28th, 1814.

"Sir: I have the honor to inform you, that agreeable to your orders of the 22nd instant, I proceeded on the expedition to Lake Superior with the launches. I rowed night and day; but having a distance of sixty miles, against a strong current, information had reached the enemy at St. Mary's of our approach about two hours before I arrived at that place, carried by Indians in their light canoes; several of whom I chased, and by firing on them, killed some and prevented their purposes; some I captured and kept prisoners until my arrival, others escaped. The force under Major Holmes prevented anything like resistance at the fort, the enemy, with their Indians, carrying with them all the light valuable articles, peltry, clothes, etc. I proceeded across the strait of Lake Superior without a moment's delay; and on my appearance, the enemy, finding they could not get off with the vessel I was in quest of, set fire to her in several places, scuttled, and left her. I succeeded in boarding her, and by considerable exertions extinguished the flames, and secured her from sinking. I then stripped her and prepared for getting her down the falls. Adverse winds prevented my attempting the falls until the 26th, when every possible effort was used, but I am sorry to say without success, to get her over in safety. The fall in three-quarters of a mile is forty-five feet, and the channel very rocky; the current runs from twenty to thirty knots, and in one place there is a perpendicular leap of ten feet between three rocks; here she bilged, but was brought down so rapidly that we succeeded in running her on shore below the rapids before she filled, and burned her. She was a fine new schooner, upward of one hundred tons, called the "Perseverance," and will be a severe loss to the North-west Company. Had I succeeded in getting her safe, I could have loaded her to advantage from the enemy's storehouses. I have, however, brought down four captured boats loaded with Indian goods to a considerable amount; the balance, contained in four large and two small storehouses, were destroyed, amounting in value from fifty to one hundred thousand dollars. All private property was, according to

your orders, respected. The officers and men under my command behaved with great activity and zeal, particularly Midshipman Swartwout.

"I have the honor to be, sir, with great respect, your obedient servant, DANIEL TURNER."

After Holmes and Turner returned from St. Mary's Falls, with the launches, to St. Joseph's Island, the squadron sailed for Michilimackinac, arriving July 26th. Since their first appearance off Bois Blanc Island, Lieut. Colonel Robert McDouall, (Glengarry Light Infantry, Fencibles), commanding, had ample to plant cannon at assailable points, muster Canadian and Indian allies, and prepare for defense. Guns were planted to command all water approaches, the heights, the elevation above the distillery, on the hill west of the fort and convenient places east to Robinson's Folly.

The fleet came to anchor at the foot of Round Island. They were at once obliged to move towards Bois Blanc Island to avoid the range of the enemy's guns, that opened fire, and rendered their position untenable. Then Col. Croghan sent a force in launches to Round Island (Mr. Ambrose Davenport as guide), to reconnoiter, with the view of establishing a battery on the water front opposite the fort. A site above the "lime-kiln" was selected, facing the village, and the party leisurely returned through the woods and clearings, picking raspberries by the way. The British, on the alert, discovered them and sent a large party of savages over in two or three hundred canoes and several batteaux, who soon reached the island. They pursued the stragglers to their boats and captured one Frenchman. One of the launches struck a rock, just below the water level, and swung around as if on a pivot within reach of the enemy's guns. The savages opened fire and the boat returned the compliment, but no damage was done. The officer in charge ordered the men to cease firing

and push off the boat, which was soon done, and they returned to the fleet. Sinclair directed a small, one-gun, vessel to sail up through the Round Island channel to head off the Indians and re-take the prisoner if possible. Whenever the boat, in tacking, neared the shore she was fired on by the savages, who swarmed on the beach. The fire was returned from the boat with gun and small arms. No one was injured but nothing was accomplished, as the wind was against them.

As the Indians were returning by the Mackinac channel, the "Lawrence," anchored west of the island, fired a shot at them without effect. They plied their paddles, chanting the death-dirge, intending to roast their victim and feast on him. When they landed, Colonel McDouall sent a strong guard, who took the prisoner and conveyed him to the fort.

When the "Lawrence" was cruising, the day after, a dense fog came on. As it lifted, later that day, the vessel had drifted near the southwest end of the island, with little wind, and in range of the enemy's guns; she was fired on from the west-end battery without effect. One shot was returned by the "Lawrence," but her guns could not be elevated enough to strike the fort. After this, unfavorable weather prevented operations several days.

Finding the place could not be carried by assault from the front, or east and west sides of the island, Colonel Croghan and Sinclair determined to effect a landing in the northwest bay, where Roberts debarked two years before, and make a lodgment from which they could annoy and finally starve out the enemy. That plan they attempted to execute, August 4th, and the result is shown in the following reports:

SENTRY BOX AND PARAPET.

"Official report of Lieut. Col. George Croghan of the Battle of Michilimackinac Island.

"U. S. S. WAR, 'NIAGARA,' OFF THUNDER BAY,
"August 9th, 1814.

"SIR—We left Fort Gratiot (head of the Straits St. Clair) on the 12th ult., and imagined that we should arrive in a few days at Matshadash Bay. At the end of the week, however, the Commodore, from the want of pilots acquainted with that unfrequented part of the lake, despaired of being able to find a passage through the island into the bay, and made for St. Josephs, where we anchored on the 20th day of July. After setting fire to the Fort of St. Josephs, which seemed not to have been recently occupied, a detachment of infantry and artillery, under Major Holmes, was ordered to Sault St. Mary's for the purpose of breaking up the enemy's establishment at that place.

"For particulars relative to the execution of this order, I beg leave to refer you to Major Holmes' report, herewith enclosed. Finding on my arrival at Michilimackinac, on the 26th ult., that the enemy had strongly fortified the height overlooking the old Fort of Mackinac, I at once despaired of being able with my small force, to carry the place by storm, and determined (as the only course remaining) on landing and establishing myself on some favorable position, whence I could be enabled to annoy the enemy by gradual and slow approaches, under cover of my artillery, in which I should have the superiority in point of metal. I was urged to this step by another reason, not a little cogent; could a position be taken and fortified on the island, I was well aware that it would either induce the enemy to attack me in my strongholds, or force his Indians and Canadians (the most efficient and only disposable force) off the island, as they would be very unwilling to remain in my neighborhood after a permanent footing had been taken.

"On inquiry, I learned from individuals who had lived many years on the Island, that a position desirable as I might wish could be found on the west end, and therefore made arrangements for disembarking. A landing was effected on the 4th inst.., under cover of the guns of the shipping, and the line being quickly formed, had advanced to the edge of the field, spoken of for a camp, when the intelligence was conveyed to me that the enemy was ahead, and a few

seconds more brought us a fire from his battery of four pieces firing shot and shells. After reconnoitering his position, which was well selected, his line reached along the edge of the woods, at the further extremity of the field and covered by a temporary breast work; I determined on changing my position (which was now two lines, the militia forming the front), by advancing Major Holmes' battalion of regulars on the right of the militia, thus to outflank him, and by a vigorous effort to gain his rear. The movement was immediately ordered, but before it could be executed, a fire was opened by some Indians posted in a thick wood near our right, which proved fatal to Major Holmes and severely wounded Captain Desha (the next officer in rank). This unlucky fire, by depriving us of the services of our most valuable officers, threw that part of the line into confusion from which the best exertions of the officers were not able to recover it. Finding it impossible to gain the enemy's left, owing to the impenetrable thickness of the woods, a charge was ordered to be made by the regulars immediately against the front. This charge although made in some confusion, served to drive the enemy back into the woods, from whence an annoying fire was kept up by the Indians.

"Lieut. Morgan was ordered up with a light piece to assist the left, now particularly galled; the excellent practice of this brought the enemy to fire at a longer distance. Discovering that this disposition from whence the enemy had just been driven (and which had been represented to me as so high and commanding), was by no means tenable, from being interspersed with thickets, and intersected in every way by ravines, I determined no longer to expose my force to the fire of an enemy deriving every advantage which could be obtained from numbers and a knowledge of the position, and therefore ordered an immediate retreat towards the shipping. This affair, which cost us many valuable lives, leaves us to lament the fall of that gallant officer, Major Holmes, whose character is so well known to the war department. Captain Van Horne, of the 19th Infantry and Lieut. Jackson of the 24th Infantry, both brave intrepid young men fell mortally wounded at the head of their respective commands.

"The conduct of all my officers on this occasion merits my approbation. Captain Desha, of the 24th Infantry, although wounded, continued with his command until forced to retire from faintness through loss of blood. Captains Saunders, Hawkins and Sturges,

with every subaltern of the battalion, acted in the most exemplary manner. Ensign Bryan, 2nd Rifle Regiment, acting Adjutant to the battalion, actively forwarded the wishes of the commanding officer. Lieuts. Hickman, 28th Infantry, and Hyde of the U. S. Marines, who commanded the reserve, claim my particular thanks for their activity in keeping that command in readiness to meet any exigency. I have before mentioned Lieut. Morgan's activity; his two assistants, Lieut. Pickett and Mr. Peters, conductor of artillery, also merit the name of good officers.

"The militia were wanting in no part of their duty. Col. Cotgreave, his officers and soldiers, deserve the warmest approbation. My acting assistant Adjutant General Captain N. H. Moore, 28th Infantry, with volunteer Adjutant McComb, were prompt in delivering my orders.

"Captain Gratiot of the engineers, who volunteered his services on this occasion, gave me valuable assistance. On the morning of the 5th, I sent a flag to the enemy, to enquire into the state of the wounded (two in number), who were left on the field, and to request permission to bring away the body of Major Holmes, which was also left, owing to the unpardonable neglect of the soldiers in whose hands it was placed. I am happy in assuring you that the body of Major Holmes is secured, and will be buried at Detroit with becoming honors. I shall discharge the militia to-morrow, and will send them down, together with two regular companies to Detroit.

"With the remaining three companies I shall attempt to destroy the enemy's establishment in the head of *Naw-taw-wa-sa-ga* River, and if it be thought proper, erect a post at the mouth of that river.

"Very respectfully, I have the honor to remain, sir, your obedient servant.

"G. CROGHAN,
Lieut.-Col. 2nd Riflemen.

"*To* HON. J. ARMSTRONG,
Secretary of War."

Naval Report, Battle of Michilimackinac Island, by Captain Sinclair:

"UNITED STATES SLOOP OF WAR 'NIAGARA,'
OFF THUNDER BAY, August 9th, 1814.

"SIR—I arrived off Michilimackinac on the 26th of July; but owing to a tedious spell of bad weather, which prevented our reconnoitering, or being able to procure a prisoner who could give us information of the enemy's Indian force, which, from several little skirmishes we had on an adjacent island, appeared to be very great, we did not attempt a landing until the 4th inst., and it was then made more with a view to ascertain positively the enemy's strength than with any possible hope of success; knowing, at the same time, that I could effectually cover their landing and retreat to the ships, from the position I had taken within 300 yards of the beach. Col. Croghan would never have landed, even with his protection, being positive, as he was, that the Indian force alone on the island, with the advantages they had, were superior to him, could he have justi fied himself to his government, without having stronger proof than appearances, that he could not effect the object in view. Mackinac is, by nature, a perfect Gibraltar, being a high inaccessible rock on every side, except the west, from which to the hights, you have near two miles to pass through a wood, so thick that our men were shot in every direction, and within a few yards of them, without being able to see the Indians who did it; and a height was scarcely gained before there was another within 50 or 100 yards commanding it, where breastworks were erected and cannon opened on them. Several of those were charged and the enemy driven from them; but it was soon found the further our troops advanced the stronger the enemy became, and the weaker and more bewildered our forces were; several of the commanding officers were picked out and killed or wounded by the savages, without seeing any of them. The men were getting lost and falling into confusion, natural under such circumstances, which demanded an immediate retreat, or a total defeat and general massacre must have ensued. This was conducted in a masterly manner by Col. Croghan, who had lost the aid of that valuable and ever to be lamented officer, Major Holmes, who, with Captain VanHorn, was killed by the Indians.

"The enemy were driven from many of their strongholds; but such

was the impenetrable thickness of the woods, that no advantage gained could be profited by. Our attack would have been made immediately under the lower fort, that the enemy might not have been able to use his Indian force to such advantage as in the woods, having discovered by drawing a fire from him in several instances, that I had greatly the superiority of metal of him; but its site being about 120 feet above the water, I could not, when near enough to do him an injury, elevate sufficiently to batter it. Above this, nearly as high again, he has another strong fort, commanding every point on the island, and almost perpendicular on all sides. Col. Croghan not deeming it prudent to make a second attempt upon this place, and having ascertained to a certainty that the only naval force the enemy have upon the lakes consists of one schooner of four guns, I have determined to despatch the "Lawrence" and "Caledonia" to Lake Erie immediately, believing their services in transporting our armies there will be wanting; and it being important that the sick and wounded, amounting to about 100, and that part of the detachment not necessary to further our future operations here, should reach Detroit without delay. By an intelligent prisoner, captured in the "Mink," I ascertained this, and that the mechanics and others sent across from York during the winter were for the purpose of building a flotilla to transport reinforcements and supplies to Mackinac. An attempt was made to transport them by the way of Matchadash, but it was found impracticable, from all the portages being a morass; that they then resorted to a small river called Nautawasaga, situated to the south of Matchadash, from which there is a portage of three leagues over a good road to Lake Simcoe. This place was never known until pointed out to them last summer by an Indian. This river is very narrow, and has six or eight feet water in it about three miles up, and is then a muddy, rapid shallow for 45 miles up to the portage, where their armada was built, and their storehouses are now situated. The navigation is dangerous and difficult, and so obscured by rocks and bushes that no stranger could ever find it. I have, however, availed myself of the means of discovering it; I shall also blockade the mouth of French River until the fall; and those being the only two channels of communication by which Mackinac can possibly be supplied, and their provisions at this time being extremely short, I think they will be starved into a surrender. This will also cut off all supplies to the Northwest Com-

pany, who are now nearly starving, and their furs on hand can only find transportation by the way of Hudson Bay. At this place I calculate on falling in with their schooner, which, it is said, has gone there for a load of provisions, and a message sent to her not to venture up while we are on the Lake.

"Very respectfully I have the honor to remain, Sir,

"Your obedient servant,

"ARTHUR SINCLAIR.

"To Hon. WM. JONES,

"*Secretary of the Navy.*"

Report of Captain N. H. Moore, 28th Infantry, Acting Assistant Adjutant General, of the killed, wounded and missing, affair of August 4th, 1814:

"On Board the U. S. Sloop of War, 'Niagara,'
11th August, 1814.

"Artillery—wounded three privates.

"Infantry—17th Regiment; killed, five privates; wounded two sergeants, two corporals, fifteen privates. Two privates since dead. Two privates missing.

"19th Regiment—wounded, one captain, nineteen privates. Captain Isaac Van Horne, Jr., since dead; one private since dead.

"24th Regiment—killed, five privates; wounded, one captain, one lieutenant, three sergeants, one musician, five privates. Captain Robert Desha severely; Lieut. Hezekiah Jackson since dead; one sergeant since dead.

"32nd Regiment—killed one major. Major Andrew Hunter Holmes.

"United States Marines—wounded, one sergeant.

"Ohio Militia—killed, two privates. Wounded six privates—one private since dead.

"Grand total—One major and twelve privates killed; two captains, one lieutenant, six sergeants, three corporals, one musician and thirty-eight privates wounded. Two privates missing.

"The above return exhibits a true statement of the killed, wounded and missing in the affair of the 4th instant.

"N. H. MOORE, Captain 28th Infantry.
"Acting Assistant Adjutant General."

The battle was fought on Michael Dousman's farm (now Earley estate), in a field, westward of the road leading from the foot to the "British Landing." The enemy's battery (four guns) was masked behind a ridge, 750 feet from the road, in the old orchard, in front of the woods, to the left, after entering from the harbor and village, through the "red gate." The positions are delineated on the outline map. When the defeated troops regained their shipping the fleet moved near their former position off Bois Blanc island.

Failing to capture Michilimackinac, measures were devised to prevent the arrival of supplies and starve the enemy into submission. All the troops but three companies were sent to General Brown at Niagara, in the "Lawrence" and "Caledonia." A pilot was secured and the remaining squadron sailed for the French and Nautauwasaga rivers in Georgian Bay. French river was decided useless as a winter route (the one from Montreal by way of the Ottawa portage and Lake Nippissing) and was avoided, and the course laid to the "Nautauwasaga" the outlet of Lake Sincoe. Here supplies were conveyed across the peninsula from York (Toronto) and reshipped to Michilimackinac and Sault Ste Marie. The enemy's schooner "Nancy" was discovered a few hundred yards up the river, protected by a block-house on the opposite shore. The following morning two howitzers were landed and planted within range of the block-house at which shells were thrown. One of the shells burst and blew up the magazine, allowing the enemy scarcely time to escape. That lighted a train laid to the vessel, that set fire to her and her valuable cargo, and six months supplies for Fort Michilimackinac were entirely consumed. It was not considered necessary to fortify and garrison the position, so Colonel Croghan and Sinclair left the "Tigress" and "Scorpion" to blockade the river until the ice began to form, which would

prevent the forwarding of provisions. After that the rest of the squadron sailed for Detroit.

The captain and several of the crew of the "Nancy" escaped in a boat and sailed for Michilimackinac and informed Col. McDouall of the disaster. That intrepid officer saw that something must be done to prevent starvation, as provisions were scarce. The command, already, on half rations, had a long winter before them. An expedition was sent in open boats to break the blockade. It consisted of one hundred and fifty sailors and soldiers with two hundred and fifty Indians. When the force arrived at the head of the bay, they discovered the "Tigress" alone; she had been separated several days from the "Scorpion." During the night of September 3rd, it being very dark, she was boarded and captured after a desperate encounter, in which several men were killed and others wounded. The signal book fell into the hands of the enemy. British officers now, having the vessel and knowing her signals, captured the "Scorpion" at dawn, on the 6th instant. That was the final stroke to the ill-fated expedition and Michilimackinac was secure for another winter.

Mackinac Island was then, as it is now, the key of the Upper Lakes. When held by land and naval forces combined, the power in possession was master of the situation. Considering the remoteness of the place from other settlements and the slow and limited means of communication, the "affair" of August 4, 1814, and the subsequent connected events, was a serious and disastrous defeat to the United States. Had it not been for the terms of the treaty of peace, ratified the following year, the continued occupation of the fort and straits, by the British, would have been of far-reaching effect on the commercial and industrial interests of this nation.

Peace was concluded between the two contending nations during the winter of 1814-15, as the result of the Treaty of Ghent, December 24, 1814, and proclaimed, February 18, 1815.

The U. S. Sloop of War, "Niagara," U. S. Schooner, "Porcupine," and two chartered vessels sailed from Detroit with six months supplies for Michilimackinac, in command of Samuel Woodhouse, Lieut., U. S. Navy, July 3, 1815, and arrived the 18th instant. There was on board a land force of one company of artillery and two companies of rifles, all under Colonel Anthony Butler, 2d Rifles, U. S. Army. William Gamble, collector of customs, was also with the expedition to establish the post.

After due exchange of courtesies between the retiring and in-coming commanders and their troops, Col. Butler took formal possession, 12 M., July 18, 1815, of the fort and dependencies. Col. McDouall, with the British force, then retired to Drummond's Island, at the mouth of St. Mary's river, where a large post was laid out. Colonel Butler left Capt. Willoughby Morgan, U. S. Army, in command of Fort Mackinac and returned to Detroit with the fleet.

Fort "George" was re-named "Fort Holmes" (in honor of Major Holmes) and was occupied a few days by a detachment and Michael Dousman was appointed military agent of Michilimackinac.

Soon after the detachment was withdrawn from Fort Holmes the block house was taken down and rebuilt for the stable, now at the foot of the hill, in front of Fort Mackinac. It is not, and never was, ornamental; and it would be a great improvement to the landscape to remove all the stables and storehouses from the lake front.

August 31, 1815, Major Talbot Chambers arrived and took command of Fort Mackinac, and Capt. Morgan was ordered to Detroit.

In 1816 Colonel John Miller, with part of the 3d Infantry, arrived, and soon thereafter left with the "two companies of rifles," to establish Fort Howard at Green Bay.

THE AMERICAN FUR COMPANY.

The American Fur Company was organized by John Jacob Astor, who was born in Germany, and migrated to this country in 1784, and settled in New York. He first worked in a bakery, afterwards assisted in a toy shop and then began, in a limited way, selling furs in country towns about the city. From the beginning he was industrious, careful, prudent, saving (of course successful) and by strict attention to business, soon accumulated considerable means. In 1809 the American Fur Company was chartered, under act, by the state of New York, with a capital of one million dollars, Astor president, and principal share holder. In 1811, Mr. Astor, and others, associates of the North West Fur Co. (organized 1783) bought out the "Mackinac Company" and founded, with his company, the South West Fur Company." The war of 1812-15 was a damper to the fur trade. After peace was concluded in 1815 Mr. Astor bought out the "South West Fur Company" and re-established the "American Fur Company." Up to that time most of the merchants and employés of those companies were British and not favorable to the United States. During the winter of 1815-16, through the influence of Mr. Astor and his company, congress passed an act prohibiting foreigners trading with Indians in the United States.

In the winter of 1817-18 more active operations in the fur

trade began. A number of clerks and voyageurs were engaged at Montreal, by Mr. Matthews, agent of the "American Fur Company," of Mackinac Island. Hon. Gurdon S. Hubbard, of Mackinac Island and Chicago, was one of the clerks enrolled for five years, at one hundred and twenty dollars a year and board.

Matthews' force left Lachine, on the St. Lawrence, May 13th, 1818, in open batteaux (loaded with supplies), propelled by oars. The average distance made was fifteen miles a day; and, at the end of a month, they reached Little York (Toronto). From York they journeyed overland, with ox teams to (Youngs Street) Lake Simcoe. They crossed the lake and hauled their batteaux, with the help of a yoke of oxen (they had brought in one of the boats) over the Nau-tau-wa-sa-ga portage—six miles—"into the river of the same name." From thence, in re-loaded batteaux, down the river, through Georgian Bay, and over Lake Huron, to Mackinac Island, where they landed—"at the foot of Robinson's Folly," July 4th. Here they were met by Ramsey Crooks and Robert Stewart, the resident managers of the headquarters of the "American Fur Company," and "a host of clerks and voyageurs," who gave them a royal welcome, with a 4th of July celebration.

1818. "Here was located Fort Mackinac, at that time garrisoned by three or four companies of United States troops. The village had a population of about five hundred, mostly Canadian French and mixed Indian blood, whose chief occupation was fishing in summer and hunting in winter. There were not more than twelve white women on the island, the residue of the female population being either all or part Indian. Here, during the summer months congregated the traders employed by the Fur Company, bringing their collections from their several trading posts, which extended from

the British dominions on the north and the Missouri river in the west, south and east to the white settlements; in fact, to all the Indian hunting grounds, so that when all were collected they added three thousand or more to the population.

"The Indians from the shores of the upper lakes, who made this island a place of resort, numbered from two to three thousand more. Their wigwams lined the entire beach two or three rows deep, and with the tents of the traders made the island a scene of life and animation. The voyageurs were fond of fun and frolic, and the Indians indulged in their love of liquor, and, by the exhibition of their war, medicine, and other dances and sports, often made both night and day hideous with their yells. These *voyageurs* were all Canadian French, and were the only people fitted for the life they were compelled to endure; their cheerful temperament and happy disposition made them contented under the privations and hardships incident to their calling."

Yearly, in July, when the "outfits" of the various outposts had returned, the furs were unpacked, counted, assorted, appraised, the profit and loss of each ascertained, then repacked, pressed and stored in the company's large warehouse ready for shipment to Mr. Astor in New York. The furs, or pelts taken, were marten (sable), mink, otter, beaver, black, silver grey, and common fox, deer, moose, elk, bear, buffalo, wolverine, badger, lynx, raccoon, wild cat, muskrat, and all small fur animals.

"The force of the company when all were assembled on the island comprised about four hundred clerks and traders, together with some two thousand voyageurs. About five hundred of these were quartered in barracks, one hundred lived in the agency house," now the John Jacob Astor House, "and the others were camped in tents and accommodated in rooms of the islanders.

"Dances and parties were given every night by the residents of the island in honor of the traders, and they, in their turn, reciprocated with balls and jollifications, which, though not as elegant and costly as those of the present day, were sufficiently so to drain from the participants all the hard earnings of the winter previous."

Each "brigade" had a stout fellow, the "bully" of that crew of voyageurs who "wore a black feather in his cap," and, if he got cleaned out, good naturedly gave the feather to the conqueror.

Batteaux used by the "brigades" (in addition to canoes) resemble the Mackinac fishing boats of the present day, but were larger, with a capacity for about three tons of merchandise, and the clothing and rations of the men. Each batteau had a crew of a clerk and five men. One man steered and four propelled the craft with oars. The daily ration of a mess of from six to ten men, was, to each man, one pint of hulled or lyed corn and from two to four ounces of tallow. It was more than they could eat, better than bread and meat, and was generally liked. On Saturday flour was issued for Sunday pan-cakes. The voyageurs were not provided with shelter and their luggage was restricted to twenty pounds, carried in a bag. The commander of the "brigade" selected the best boat and an extra man for "orderly," "and the will of the commander was the only law known." The clerks messed with the commander and orderly. They had salt pork, tea and coffee, and a tent for shelter.

The company had mechanics, who made and repaired boats, and manufactured traps, tomahawks, nails, and other articles from iron. The capital of the Fur Company was immense, and their policy was to monopolize; fully nineteen-twentieths of traders of the northwest were engaged by them.

The few traders on the island were Michael Dousman, Edward Biddle and John Drew, also Mrs. Mitchell, wife of Dr. Mitchell, surgeon in the British army. All were under the influence of the Fur Company, bought most of their goods of the corporation, and sold their furs to the company.

Some of the Indian women, the mixed bloods in particular, were intelligent and accomplished, and married prominent men. Mrs. Dr. Mitchell was a mixed blood, and the widow Lafromboise, whose daughter married the U. S. Commander of Fort Mackinac; also a Miss Chandler, who married a prominent lawyer of Green Bay. Mrs. Edward Biddle was an Indian of queenly appearance; she dressed in Indian costume, the finest black or blue broadcloth, beautifully ornamented with silk and moose-hair work.

The late Major John H. Kinzie conducted the Fur Company's retail store in the basement of a building on the corner of Fort and Market streets. Here Alexander St. Martin, a French Canadian youth, 18 years old, was accidentally shot, June 6, 1822, by one of his companions, whilst they were carelessly examining a loaded shot gun. Dr. William Beaumont, U. S. A., Post Surgeon, Fort Mackinac, was called and saw St. Martin about 25 minutes after the accident. He wrote—"The charge, consisting of powder and duck shot was received in the left side of the youth, he being at a distance of not more than one yard from the muzzle of the gun. The contents entered posteriorly, in an oblique direction, forward and inward, literally blowing off integuments and muscles of the size of a man's hand, fracturing and carrying away the anterior half of the sixth rib, fracturing the fifth, lacerating the lower portion of the left lobe of the lungs, the diaphragm, and perforating the stomach." The wound healed and left a valvular orifice that could be depressed at pleasure and the contents of the stomach and action of the gastric

fluids on them watched. This case led to a series of experiments and observations that are world renowned. (See "Experiments and Observations on the Gastric Juice and the Physiology of Digestion. By William Beaumont, M. D., Surgeon in the U. S. Army., 1833.")

In 1823 the United Foreign Missionary Society sent Rev. William Montague Ferry to establish a mission and school for Indians at Mackinac Island. He arrived October 19th, and opened the school in the court house with twelve Indian children on the 3d of November. The school increased in numbers and usefulness, and in 1825 the "Mission House" was built and the "Mission Church" in 1830. Many children from the neighboring shores attended, and at one time there were nearly two hundred in training, with an ample corps of teachers. The results of the usefulness and sound principles taught in that institution can be noticed to this day, in some of the inhabitants of this island and vicinity. Senator Thomas W. Ferry, who has done much for Mackinac Island and the state at large, was born in the "Mission House" (now a hotel), in 1827, on the 1st of June. Rev. Mr. Ferry went to Grand Haven in 1834, and the mission was abandoned in 1837.

Fort Mackinac was temporarily evacuated, October 14, 1839, by Capt. Samuel McKenzie's company, 2d U. S. Artillery, and re-occupied May 18, 1840, by Capt. Harvey Brown's company "H," 4th Artillery.

The Fur Company continued operations from 1815 until 1834, when Mr. Astor transferred his stock and charter to Ramsey Crooks and associates. Mr. Crooks became the president, and business continued as usual until 1842, when, on account of competition with the old "North West Fur Company," (British) and other causes, it was obliged to assign, and the American Fur Company's career ended. During all

that period, the company for life and trade was Mackinac, and to all intents and purposes Mackinac was the American Fur Company.

The erection of the Fur Company's buildings cost fifty thousand dollars, and three million dollars worth of merchandise were annually exchanged in the Indian country for furs. The amounts disbursed by the government for Indian annuities and the support and payment of the troops each year were often over one million dollars more.

Henry R. Schoolcraft, Indian Agent from 1833 to 1841, author of "Algic Researches," and other works, resided in the "Old Agency"* building that stood in what is now the (East) fort garden, and afterwards in the "Indian Dormitory,"† west, adjoining.

With the winding up of affairs of the American Fur Company, in 1842, the sail vessels, batteaux, small boats, buildings and other property on Mackinac Island passed into the hands of private individuals and firms, who embarked in the fur, fish and other branches of trade, on their own account, with more or less success. The vast fur business at once diminished to less than half the original volume, and finally was transferred to other places until it entirely disappeared from the island.

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*Home of "Anne."

†Now the Union School House.

THE FISHERIES.

With the decline of the fur trade the fishing business became prominent, and the voyageurs, Indians and their boats and outfits, that had been so successfully used, were utilized for that purpose. The Indians resorted to Michilimackinac and vicinity, to obtain fish for subsistence long before the "pale faces" visited this country.

As early as 1824 whitefish and trout, in small quantities, salted and packed in barrels, were caught and sent to the Buffalo market. All the fishing grounds for one hundred and fifty miles, or more, around sent their catch to Mackinac Island, where the fish were assorted, resalted, repacked in barrels ready for shipment. From 1854 to 1860 the trade in salted fish increased to over two hundred and fifty thousand packages, valued at over one million dollars. Whitefish were frequently taken in gill nets that weighed from twenty to twenty-five pounds, and lake trout were caught that weighed eighty-five pounds.

The pound or trap nets introduced about 1865,* in which fish are taken whilst on the shores and shoals spawning, and at all other times, have nearly ruined the business, and if it were not for the artificial hatching and annual planting of fry, there would very few fish left in the lakes. Most of the catch now is packed in ice and shipped fresh to Chicago and other points; few are salted. The business can only be revived by national legislation of a protective character, as the states cannot control the "high seas."

*Also the long gangs of gill nets, about the shoals and reefs in the lakes, fished by men on steam tugs.

PEOPLE OF THE ISLAND.

Among the business firms and families of Mackinac Island since the '40s are Rev. A. D. Piret,* Edward Guilbault, L. Y. B. Birchard, P. C. Kevan, Wm. M. Johnson, J. H. Cook, McLeods, Wm. Madison, J. S. Saltonstall, John Becker, Arian R. Root, Wendells, Toll & Rice, Lasleys, Charles M. O'Malley, Jones and Drew families, Biddle & Drew, Chapman & Gray, William Scott, Edward Kanter, Peter White, Samuel K. Haring, Bela Chapman, Edward A. Franks, Michael Earley, Hulbert & Kirtland, Leopold & Austrian, Bromilow & Bates, John G. Read, Jonathan P. King Hoban Brothers, Henry Van Allen, C. B. Fenton, Todds, Chambers, McNally and Donnelly families, Douds and McIntyres, Graveraet, Desbro, Gaskill, Truscott, Bennett and Davis families, Gallagher, Couchois, Metevier, Lyon, Lachance and Louisignau families, Tanner, Granger and Hamblins, Bailey families, George T. Arnold, F. B. Stockbridge, John W. Davis & Son, George Truscott & Son, Dominick Murray and family, John R. Bailey & Son, H. W. Overall, W. P. Preston, Wm. Sullivan, Shomin Lapeen, Allor, McGulpin, Martineau, Rainville, Taylor, Burdette, and Cheniers, Bogans and Foleys, James F. Cable, Mulcrones and Holdens, Murray Brothers and McCartys.

COUNTY AND BOROUGH OF MICHILIMACKINAC.

Under the territory the jurisdiction of the courts at Michilimackinac extended over a large area of the Southern Peninsula, all of the Northern, the greater part of Wisconsin and westward to the Pacific Ocean. When Michigan became a State in 1837, the boundaries of the county of Michilimackinac were south to Saginaw Bay (the south line across the State being the north line of township twenty), west to the Menominee river and north to Canada. As the country set-

* "Pere Michaux," in "Anne."

tled the boundaries were gradually contracted to the present limits. The borough of Michilimackinac (now village of Mackinac) was the county seat. The village (borough) was incorporated in 1817, April 6th; amended 1842–1843; the act of April 6th, 1817, repealed March 16th, 1847; amended 1859, 1865, 1869; reincorporated 1875 and February 19th, 1895. The president of said village ("borough of Michilimackinac"), is a member of the Board of Supervisors of the county by virtue of old acts of incorporation, operative.

September 18th, 1882, the county seat was transferred from Mackinac Island to St. Ignace.

LEGEND OF MICHILIMACKINAC, 1879.

The following was written for the "Department of the East," Military Division of the Atlantic, and published in pamphlet form. A copy is in the "Park Book" "No. 1.," "Letters Sent," p. 126 to 135, inclusive, Fort Mackinac, Michigan. The notes added marked with a star "*," and inclosed in brackets, [], are not in my original:

LEGEND OF MICHILIMACKINAC.

Fort Mackinac, Mackinac Island, Michigan. Latitude 45° 51′ 22″ north; Longitude 84° 41′ 22″ west.

Height of parade ground above Lake Huron, 150 feet. (* Estimated; since found to be 133 feet.)

Area of Island.—The island is about nine miles in circumference. (* Actual measurement, on the beach, within the water line, eight miles, less twenty feet.) Area, 3.47 square miles.

(* Elevation of "Lakes Huron and Michigan," above sea level, is "581 3-10 feet." "Lake Superior 601 8-10 feet."

"The difference of 20 1-2 feet between Lake Superior and Huron occurs in the rapids of St. Mary's river.")

The general trend of the land is from northwest to south-east, having a diameter of about three miles and a breadth, from south-west to north-east, of a little less than two miles.

Area in acres:

Mackinac National Park	911.21
Military Reservation	103.41
Private Claims	1,207.20
Total	2,221.82

Geology.—This peculiar formation is part of the Onondaga salt group of the Upper Silurian System, and the Upper Helderberg limestone group of the Devonian System. The first, or base, is of unknown thickness, and the second, forming the body, or cap, about 250 feet deep.

The south end of the island, and face, is plainly terraced. Starting from the apex of Fort Holmes, 318 feet above Lake Huron, before we come to the water, there are four distinctly marked natural terraces, each showing the wave lines of aqueous formation. The existence of the island is probably due, under the agency of the Divine Creator, to the gradual subsidence of the waters during thousands of years of time. Trilobites are found in the limestone formation. Beautiful arches, caves, conical and pyramidal rocks have been formed by time and the action of the elements on the limestone surface that add greatly to the beauty of the scenic isle. Of such, the Great Arch Rock, "*Fairy Arch" of the Giant's Stair-Way, Scott's Cave, Sugar Loaf Rock, Lover's Leap, Chimney Rock, and others are examples.

Climate.—On account of the large bodies of fresh water surrounding, the climate is pleasant and agreeable. Extremes

*"Fairy Arch" was discovered and named by Dr. Bailey in 1866.

FAIRY ARCH.

of temperature are 90° Fahr., and 23° Fahr.; average about 39° Fahr. (*to 41°).

Soil.—The surface of the island is very irregular, and the soil scanty but very rich, covering, as a general rule, the underlying rock only a few inches.

Vegetation.—The timber which has been cut down from time to time is small. Beech, maple, iron wood, oak, birch, wild cherry, and hazel, arbor vitæ, fir, spruce, pine, juniper, tamarack, etc., are the principal. The common juniper abounds.

Fort Mackinac and Island.—The fort is built on the bluff of a plateau, at the southeastern side of the island, and overlooks, in frowning grandeur, the straits and the little village of Mackinac, nestling on the beach, around the bay below. The Island of Mackinac is situated in the straits of the same name, between the Northern and Southern Peninsulas of Michigan, about one-third the distance through the straits from the eastern or Lake Huron side. The island is about three miles from the shore of the North Peninsula, and south side seven or eight miles from the Southern Peninsula. In front of the fort, to the southeast, is Round Island, a mile distant, and three miles away, in the same direction, is the west end of the large island of Bois Blanc (white wood), which stretches out ten or twelve miles to the eastward, towards Lake Huron. The bay, or harbor, is small, of the usual horseshoe or crescentic form, and should be improved by breakwaters on the south and southeast points.

Near places.—The village of Mackinac on the beach, in front of the fort adjoining the Military Reservation and Park, (in two detached portions) is the nearest most important town. It is the county seat (* was then) of Mackinac county, has about 700 inhabitants, seven hotels, (* now ten) a number of private boarding houses and several fine stores. It is one

of the most noted and healthful summer resorts in the country, and is visited by hundreds of people from all parts of the Continent and Europe, who are in search of health, pleasure and recreation. The next town near the island, is Point St. Ignace, on the mainland, three miles to the northwest of the island, population about 450, (*St. Ignace is now a city and is the county seat, population 2,500). But the most important town, near the fort, is Cheboygan, at the mouth of the Cheboygan river, in the Southern Peninsula, about sixteen and a half miles south-east, population 2,500, (*present population of the City of Cheboygan is about 7,000.) Fort Brady, Sault Ste. Marie, sixty miles north and east is the nearest military post. The nearest railroad station is Petoskey, fifty-five miles distant, on Little Traverse Bay, Lake Michigan, (*since the G. R. and I. R. R., and the Mackinac Division of the M. C. R. R. have extended their lines to "Mackinaw," a village of about 250 inhabitants, adjoining the site of (South) Fort Michilimackinac. These roads make daily connections by ferry steamers—ice crushers—"Ste. Marie" and "St. Ignace," from St. Ignace the terminal point of the D. S. S. and A. R. R. and the M. St. P. and Sault Ste. Marie R. R. and with Mackinac Island by the steam ferry "Algoma.") Three months during the summer season there is a daily mail from Petoskey and a mail three times a week via Cheboygan the rest of the year, (*now there is a daily mail, the year round, and in the summer season, four or five mails per day, by the railroads and steam ferry connections.) During the season of navigation from about the 25th of April to the 15th of December this place is accessible by lines of steamers from Buffalo, Detroit, Chicago and other points, which land at all hours of the day and night and in winter by rail to Petoskey, (*see

notes above), stage via Cheboygan, thence over the ice bridge to Mackinac.

The straits generally freeze over about the 15th or 20th of January and continue closed until the 15th or 25th of April.

The entire section of country bordering the straits and vicinity, with the islands in the straits, was originally called "Michilimackinac," or "Michilimackina," rendered thus by the French from the Indian name "Me-che-ne-mock-l-nong," which is said to mean "Great Turtle." It was thus named by the savages from a fancied resemblance of the island, as seen from Point St. Ignace, to the back of a large turtle. The name has since been contracted to "Mackinac," now pronounced by the English "Mack-i-naw." This beautiful Isle of Mackinac, the "Home of the Great Manitou," and of the spirits whom the Indians delighted to worship, was a favorite sporting and camping ground of various Indian tribes long before the white man trod its sacred soil.

Settlement.—The first settlement of Michilimackinac by white men, it is said, was the founding of the mission of St. Ignatius at "Michilimockinong," now Point St. Ignace, in 1671 by Rev. James Marquette. (*Recent research shows that Mackinac island was settled before St. Ignace, and we believe that its occupation antedates any other in this region of the lakes.) Within two or three years thereafter, the first stockade at the post of Michilimackinac was constructed. The stockade itself was called, by the French, some other name. This post was the most important in all Canada; it was the center of the fur trade, and the base of supplies for the entire northwest. The garrison consisted of two hundred soldiers, and at least 8,000 Indians, in wigwams and villages, were encamped along the shores. Finally the post was abandoned and subsequently the "Post of Michilimackinac," and a mission of the same name, was established in

1714 (*that date is not positively known) at what is now called "Old Mackinaw," on the south shore of the straits eight miles from this point. It was held by the French until 1761 when it was transferred to the English as a part of the territory ceded by the French in 1760.

Massacre.—June 4, 1763, as a part of the plot of the "Conspiracy of Pontiac," the English garrison was surprised and captured by the Indians, a portion of the command massacred, and the rest made captives. For a little more than a year after the massacre the post was occupied by coureur de bois and a few Indians as a temporary residence. It was then taken possession of by Captain Howard of the British army, with two companies of troops and occupied until 1780. That year it was abandoned and the troops removed to the Island of Mackinac.

Fort Mackinac.—The present fort was occupied July 15, 1780, but not completed until 1783. At that time the stone building (on ground plan marked "3") and the block-houses "27, 28 and 29," and a strong bomb-proof magazine with arched walls, six feet thick, built on part of the site of the present commissary, "9," were constructed, also, the two arches and stone-works, surmounted by a stockade of white cedar posts, squared and pointed at the tops, about ten feet high and set in the lines intersecting the block-houses. The stockade was pierced with two sets of loop-holes for musketry and the block-houses armed with small iron cannon. The whole formed a most perfect and secure defence against the Indians of that day.

In 1817-18 and as late as 1856-7 the fort retained much of its original appearance. About this last date a part of the stockade rotted and fell down and the rest was removed. The other parts of the old fort and works, viz., the stone wall facing the lake, and the other stone and earth works, block-

OFFICERS' STONE QUARTERS, 1780.

houses and old buildings, "1, 2, 3 and 4," retain much if not all their uniqueness.

Buildings.—The material of "3, 27, 28 and 29," is rough limestone, quarried near the fort, of various shapes and sizes. The walls are very thick and strong, and also now about one hundred years old, bid fair to last for centuries. No. "3," is a story high, on the parade with a basement facing the water, and a two-story porch on the water front. It is divided by a stone wall into two equal parts, with a narrow hall through the center of each half, and a set of officers' quarters on each side of the halls. The barracks for two companies, "5 and 6," were constructed in 1858. Other buildings on the same foundations have been twice destroyed by fire. An upper story "6," was added, and porch remodeled to make room for two companies in 1876-7. This barrack is a two-story frame building with porches the whole length in front, facing the parade ground southeast. The upper story of the porch has a tight deck planking that answers the double purpose of a floor above and a roof of the lower part. The dormitories are 11 5-12 feet high and are fitted with single iron bedsteads, each having an air space of 496 and 749 cubic feet respectively. Mess-rooms and kitchens, "6," are in the rear of the main building.

Hospital.—"10, 11, 12," is a wooden structure two stories high, with porches in front facing the lake, stands on the second level, east and just outside of the old walls of the fort, about 17 feet above the level of the parade ground. It is a double house with wide halls through the center of each story, and rooms on the sides of the halls. There are three wards besides the other rooms, capacity 14 beds, with an air space of from 600 to 800 cubic feet each. It was constructed in 1858. There is no bathroom nor dead house attached. (* Since a dead house and also hospital steward's quarters,

both near by, have been built and a bathroom added to the hospital.)

Commissary.—This fine building was completed in 1878. It is a one-story frame house, built on the site of the old magazine. It has a cellar which is part of the walls of the demolished magazine.

Officers' Quarters.—"25" remodeled, and "26" added, "26," "22," "23," and "24," constructed in 1876–7, all on the right of the flagstaff, on the second level, are new modern houses, one and a half stories high, with wide one-story porches in front, bay windows on the west and east sides of each. Commandant's block, "21," with a hall in the center and two rooms on each side of hall. "23" and "25" are also double, with two halls in the center, separated by a division wall, and two rooms on the outside of each hall. The attic stories of each are finished, and there are dining-rooms and kitchens, "22," "24," "26," "26," in the rear.

Other Buildings.—The magazine, "18," brick, and the wood buildings, "19," "20," "14," "15," "16" and "31," were constructed in 1876–7. Date of construction of "13," "30," and "32" unknown. There are no reliable data to tell even the probable costs of construction.

Drainage.—The drainage is natural and very good.

Water.—The supply is from a well back of the stockade and from cisterns, but mostly from the lake, and has to be drawn up the steep hill in carts. This keeps two men and a span of mules constantly employed. (* A system of water supply, through iron pipes, forced from a spring at the foot of the hill west of the fort, has since been devised. The spring water, hard, from the limestone formation, is forced into a reservoir in the upper story of the north block-house by a steam pumping engine and from thence distributed to all of the buildings. Bath rooms, water closets and drainage

pipes have, also, been put in the officers' and men's quarters and the hospital).

Sanitary.—The health of the post is excellent. There are no epidemics or prevailing diseases. It is, probably, the most healthy station in America.

Reservations.—The original reservation, mostly on the east side of the island, contained a little more than two square miles. See Capt. J. N. Macomb's T. E. Map of Island of Mackinac, 1855.

Round Island—Is reserved for lighthouse purposes. (* It is in the corporate limits of the village of Mackinac; area, 180 acres.)

Bois Blanc Island.—The greater part of this large island, containing 21,351-88, is "Reserved to supply Fuel for the Garrison of Michilimackinac." The sections reserved are: "10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 31, 32, 33 and 34." See map "According to survey filed Surveyor General's Office, Chillicothe, Ohio, October 5th, 1827."

National Park.—By an Act of Congress, March 3rd, 1875, the Military Reservation, and the United States lands, on the island, not in market, were set apart as a "National Park," excepting only the present Reservation, 103.41 acres around the fort. See map "Mackinac National Park," by Major G. Weitzel, U. S. A., 1875. The park is under the control of the Secretary of War, and the commanding officer of Fort Mackinac is, ex officio, the Superintendent.

History.—From 1780 to 1795 the fort was held by the British. Then the place was peacefully occupied by our forces in accordance with previous treaty. Our troops held the position until July 17th, 1812, when the fort and island was captured without bloodshed by Capt. Roberts of the English army, from St. Joseph's Island, with only a few, 135, soldiers and about 1,000 Indians. Roberts landed in the

night, on the north side of the island in a small bay, that has ever since been called the "British Landing." Fearing he could not hold what he had so easily attained, he caused the redoubt of "Fort George," ("Fort Holmes,") a very strong earthwork, to be erected on the highest point of the island, about a half or three-quarters of a mile in rear of the present fort. Between the 4th and 8th of August, 1814, a force of United States troops, under Colonel Croghan and Major Holmes, attempted to recapture the island. A severe battle was fought, and our troops were surprised and defeated by the British and Indians in ambush. Major Holmes and twelve men were killed, two officers and thirty-eight men were wounded and two missing. Failing in the attempt Colonel Croghan withdrew the remnant of his command to his shipping.

During the following winter, 1814–15, peace was concluded and the English evacuated the place in the spring, (*summer.) "Fort George" has since been called "Fort Holmes" in honor of the lamented major.

The fort has been several times without a garrison, and many of the old records are lost or stolen. It is at present garrisoned by Co's "C" and "D" of the 10th Infantry, Capt. and Brevet Major E. E. Sellers in command. The morale of the command, discipline, and police regulations of the fort are excellent.

Fort Mackinac, Michigan, Augut 20th, 1879.

JOHN R. BAILEY,

Acting Assistant Surgeon, U. S. Army, Post Surgeon.

SUGGESTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT OF MACKINAC NATIONAL PARK.

When General Belknap was Secretary of War, in 1875, he sent a letter through General Sackett, Inspector General U. S. Army, requesting Dr. John R. Bailey to give a written outline for the improvement, etc., of Mackinac Island National Park. We suggested that the park be left as nearly as possible in a state of nature, the present roads, walks and bridle paths should be improved, and the carriage-roads widened. An additional road around the island on the bluff, and one on the beach below, both to be connected at convenient places. A limited number of lots to be platted at suitable points, subject to lease, one parcel only to each applicant, for a stated time (with a privilege of renewal), so that there could be no chance for speculation, the whole to be under the direction and control of the Secretary of War, and the commanding officer of Fort Mackinac, *ex-officio,* the superintendent of said park, in accordance with the title of the original bill. And that an additional company of troops be sent to patrol and police the park. The additional company was sent, and new quarters and barracks erected in 1876–7 for their accommodation.

All work and plotting of lots on the park appear to have been done, as nearly as could be, to the letter and spirit of that communication.

LIST OF OFFICERS AT FORT MACKINAC, 1815–1895.

"List of [Officers stationed at Fort Mackinac, Michigan, and year of their arrival, from 1815 to 1895 inclusive:

1815. Anthony Butler, Colonel 2nd Rifles.
Willoughby Morgan, Captain Riflemen.
Talbot Chambers, Major.
Joseph Kean, Captain.
John O'Fallow, Captain.
John Heddelson, 1st Lieutenant.
James S. Gray, 2nd Lieutenant.
William Armstrong, 2nd Lieutenant.
William Hening, Surgeon's Mate.
Benjamin K. Pierce, Captain, Artillery.
Robert McCallum, Jr., 1st Lieutenant, Artillery.
Louis Morgan, 1st Lieutenant, Artillery.
George S. Wilkins, 2nd Lieutenant, Artillery.
John S. Pierce, 2nd Lieutenant, Artillery.
Thomas J. Baird, 3rd Lieutenant, Artillery.

1816. John Miller, Colonel, 3rd Infantry.
John McNeil, Major, 5th Infantry.
Charles Gratiot, Major, Engineers.
William Whistler, Captain, 3rd Infantry.
John Greene, Captain, 3rd Infantry.
Daniel Curtis, 1st Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry.
John Garland, 1st Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry.
Turly F. Thomas, 1st Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry.
Henry J. Conway, Jr., 1st Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry.
James Dean, 2nd Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry.
Andrew Lewis, 2nd Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry.
Asher Phillips, Paymaster, 3rd Infantry.

1817. Edward Purcell, Hospital Surgeon's Mate.
Albion T. Crow, Hospital Surgeon's Mate.
William S. Evelith, 2nd Lieutenant, Engineers.
1818. Edward Brooks, 1st Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry.
Joseph P. Russel, Post Surgeon.
1819. Joseph Gleason, died at station, March 27th, 1820, 1st Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
William Lawrence, Lieut. Colonel, 2nd Infantry.
Peter T. January, 2nd Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry.
John Peacock, 2nd Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry.
William S. Comstock, Surgeon's Mate, 3rd Infantry.
1821. William Beaumont, Post Surgeon.
Thomas C. Legate, Captain, 2nd Artillery.
Elija Lyon, 1st Lieutenant, 3rd Artillery.
James A. Chambers, 2nd Lieutenant, 3rd Artillery.
Joshua Barney, 2nd Lieutenant, 3rd Artillery.
1822. James M. Spencer, 1st Lieutenant, 2nd Artillery.
1823. Alexander C. W. Fanning, Captain, 2nd Artillery.
William Whistler, Captain, 3rd Infantry.
Samuel W. Hunt, 1st Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry.
Aaron H. Wright, 2nd Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry.
George H. Crosman, 2nd Lieutenant, 6th Infantry.
Stewart Cowan, 2nd Lieutenant, 3rd Infantry.
1825. William Hoffman, Captain, 2nd Infantry.
Richard S. Satterlee, Assistant Surgeon U. S. Army.
Carlos A. Wait, 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
Seth Johnson, 1st Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
1826. David Brooks, 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
Alexander B. Thompson, Captain, 2nd Infantry.
1827. James G. Allen, 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
Edwin James, Asst. Surgeon, U. S. Army.
Ephraim K. Barnum, 1st Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
Edwin V. Sumner, 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.

1827. Samuel T. Heintzelman, 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.

1828. Charles F. Morton, 1st Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
Sullivan Burbank, Captain, 5th Infantry.
Robert McCabe, Captain, 5th Infantry.
William Alexander, 1st Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
Abner B. Hetzel, 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
Josiah H. Vose, Major, 5th Infantry.

1829. James Engle, 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
Amos Foster, 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
Enos Cutler, Lieut. Colonel, 3rd Infantry.
Moses E. Merrill, 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
Ephraim Kirby Smith, 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
Isaac Lynde, 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
Caleb C. Sibley, 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
William E. Cruger, 1st Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
Louis T. Jamison, 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.

1830. Henry Clark, 1st Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.

1831. John T. Collingworth, 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
Robert McMillan, Asst. Surgeon, U. S. Army.

1832. George M. Brooks, Colonel, 5th Infantry.
Waddy V. Cobbs, Captain, 2nd Infantry.
Joseph S. Gallagher, 1st Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
George W. Patten, 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
Thomas Stockton, Brvt. 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
Alexander B. Thompson, Major, 6th Infantry.
John B. F. Russell, Captain, 5th Infantry.

1833. William Whistler, Major, 2nd Infantry.
Ephraim K. Barnum, Captain, 2nd Infantry.
Joseph R. Smith, 1st Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
James W. Penrose, 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
Charles S. Frailey, Asst. Surgeon, U. S. Army.
George F. Turner, Asst. Surgeon, U. S. Army.

1834. Jesse H. Leavenworth, 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
John Clitz, died at station, Nov. 7, 1836, Captain, 2nd Infantry.

1835. James V. Bomford, 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
Julius J. B. Kingsbury, 1st Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
Massena R. Patrick, Brvt. 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.

1836. James W. Anderson, 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
Erastus B. Wolcott, Asst. Surgeon, U. S. Army.

1839. Samuel McKenzie, Captain, 2nd Artillery.
Arnold Elzey Jones, 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Artillery.

1840. Harvey Brown, Captain, 4th Artillery.
John W. Phelps, 1st Lieutenant, 4th Artillery.
John C. Pemberton, 2nd Lieutenant, 4th Artillery.

1841. Patrick H. Galt, Captain, 4th Artillery.
George C. Thomas, 1st Lieutenant, 4th Artillery.
George W. Getty, 2nd Lieutenant, 4th Artillery.
Henry Holt, Asst. Surgeon, U. S. Army.
Alexander Johnston, Captain, 5th Infantry.
William Chapman, 1st Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
Spencer Norvell, 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
Henry Whiting, 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
John M. Jones, Brvt. 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.

1842. Martin Scott, Captain, 5th Infantry.
Rev. John O'Brien, Chaplain.

1843. Levi H. Holden, Asst. Surgeon, U. S. Army.
Moses E. Merrill, Captain, 5th Infantry.
William Root, 1st Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
John C. Robinson, 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.

1844. John Byrne, Asst. Surgeon, U. S. Army.

1845. Charles C. Keeney, Asst. Surgeon, U. S. Army.
George C. Westcott, 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Infantry.
Silas Casey, Captain, 2nd Infantry.

1845. Joseph P. Smith, Brvt. 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
Fred Steele, Brvt. 2nd Lieutenant, 5th Infantry.
1847. Frazey M. Winans, Captain, 15th Infantry.
Michael P. Doyle, 2nd Lieutenant, 15th Infantry.
Morgan L. Gage, Captain, 1st Michigan Vols.
Caleb F. Davis, 1st Lieutenant, 1st Michigan Vols.
William F. Chittenden, 2nd Lieutenant, 1st Michigan Vols.
1848. William N. B. Beall, Brvt. 2nd Lieutenant, 4th Infantry.
Charles H. Larned, Captain, 4th Infantry.
Hiram Dryer, 2nd Lieutenant, 4th Infantry.
1849. Joseph B. Brown, Asst. Surgeon, U. S. Army.
Joseph L. Tidball, Brvt. 2nd Lieutenant, 4th Infantry.
1850. Charles H. Laub, Asst. Surgeon, U. S. Army.
1851. David L. Russel, 1st Lieutenant, 4th Infantry.
1852. Thomas Williams, Captain (Brvt. Major), 4th Artillery.
1852. George W. Rains, 1st Lieut. (Brvt. Major), 4th Artillery.
Jacob Culbertson, 2nd Lieutenant, 4th Artillery.
Joseph H. Bailey, Captain, Asst. Surgeon, U. S. Army.
1854. John R. Bailey, Actg. Asst. Surgeon, U. S. Army.
1855. John H. Greland, 1st Lieutenant, 4th Artillery.
Joseph B. Brown, Captain, Asst. Surgeon, U. S. Army.
1856. John R. Bailey, A. A. Surgeon, U. S. Army.
Edward F. Bagley, 2nd Lieutenant, 4th Artillery.
William R. Terrell, 1st Lieutenant, 4th Artillery.
Joseph H. Wheelock, 1st Lieutenant, 4th Artillery.
John Byrne, Captain, Asst. Surgeon, U. S. Army.
1857. Arnold Elzey (Jones), Captain, 2nd Artillery.

1857. Henry Benson, 1st Lieutenant, 2nd Artillery.
Guilford D. Bailey, 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Artillery.
John R. Bailey, A. A. Surgeon, U. S. Army.

1858. Henry C. Pratt, Captain, 2nd Artillery.
Henry A. Smalley, 2nd Lieutenant, 2nd Artillery.
John F. Head, Captain, Asst. Surgeon, U. S. Army.

1859. William A. Hammond, Captain, Asst. Surgeon, U. S. Army.
George R. Hartsuff, 1st Lieutenant, 2nd Artillery.

1860. John R. Bailey, A. A. Surgeon, U. S. Army.
George E. Cooper, Captain, Asst. Surgeon, U. S. Army.

1862. Grover S. Wormer, Captain, Stanton Guards, Michigan Vols.
Elias F. Sutton, 1st Lieutenant, Stanton Guards, Michigan Vols.
Louis Hertmeyer, 2nd Lieutenant, Stanton Guards, Michigan Vols.
James Knox, Chaplain, Michigan Vols.
John Gregg, A. A. Surgeon, U. S. Army, Michigan Vols.
Charles W. Le Boutillier, Asst. Surgeon, 1st Minnesota Infantry, Vols.

1866. Jerry N. Hill, Captain, Vet. Res. Corps.
Washington L. Wood, 2nd Lieutenant, Vet. Res. Corps.
John R. Bailey, A. A. Surgeon, U. S. Army.

1867. John Mitchell (Reed), Captain, 43rd Infantry.
Edwin C. Gaskill, 1st Lieutenant, 43rd Infantry.
Julius Stommell, 2nd Lieutenant, 43rd Infantry.
Hiram R. Mills, A. A. Surgeon, U. S. Army.

1869. Leslie Smith, Captain (Brvt. Major), 1st Infantry.
John Leonard, 1st Lieutenant, 1st Infantry.

1869. Matthew Markland, 2nd Lieutenant, 1st Infantry.
1870. Samuel S. Jessop, Captain, Asst. Surgeon, U. S. Army.
1871. Thomas Sharp, 1st Lieutenant, 1st Infantry.
John R. Bailey, A. A. Surgeon, U. S. Army.
1872. William N. Notson, Captain, Asst. Surgeon, U. S. Army.
1873. John R. Bailey, A. A. Surgeon, U. S. Army.
Carlos Carvallo, Captain, Asst. Surgeon, U. S. Army.
1874. Carlos J. Dickey, Captain (Brvt. Major), 22nd Inft.
John McA. Webster, 2nd Lieutenant, 22nd Infantry.
John R. Bailey, Actg. Asst. Surgeon, U. S. Army.
J. Victor DeHanne, Captain, Asst. Surgeon, U. S. A.
W. W. Dougherty, 1st Lieutenant, 22d Infantry.
1875. Alfred L. Hough, Major, 22nd Infantry.
876. Joseph Bush, Captain, (Brvt. Major), 22nd Infantry.
Thomas H. Fisher, 1st Lieutenant, 22nd Infantry.
Fielding L. Davis, 2nd Lieutenant, 22nd Infantry.
John R. Bailey, A. A. Surgeon, U. S. Army.
1877. Charles A. Webb, Captain (Brvt. Major), 22nd Infantry.
John G. Ballance, 2nd Lieutenant, 22nd Infantry.
Theodore Mosher, Jr., 2nd Lieutenant, 22nd Inft.
Peter Moffatt, Captain, Asst. Surgeon, U. S. Army.
1878. Oscar D. Ladley, 1st Lieutenant, 22nd Infantry.
1879. Edwin E. Sellers, died April 8th, 1884, Captain (Brvt. Major), 10th Infantry.
Dwight H. Kelton, 1st Lieutenant, 10th Infantry.
Walter T. Duggan, 1st Lieutenant, 10th Infantry.
Bogardus Eldridge, 2nd Lieutenant, 10th Infantry.
Edward H. Plummer, 2nd Lieutenant, 10th Infantry.
Charles L. Davis, Captain, 10th Infantry.
John R. Bailey, A. A. Surgeon, U. S. Army.

1880. George W. Adair, Captain, Asst. Surgeon, U. S. Army.

1881. John R. Bailey, A. A. Surgeon, U. S. Army.

1882. William H. Corbusier, Captain, Asst. Surgeon, U. S. Army.

1883. John Adams Perry, 2nd Lieutenant, 10th Infantry.

1884. George K. Brady, Captain (Brvt. Lt. Col.), 23rd Infantry.
Greenleaf A. Goodale, Captain, 23rd Infantry.
Edward B. Pratt, 1st Lieutenant, 23d Infantry.
Stephen O'Connor, 2nd Lieutenant, 23rd Infantry.
Benjamin C. Morse, 2nd Lieutenant, 23rd Infantry.
Calvin D. Cowles, 1st Lieutenant, 23rd Infantry.
J. Rozier Clagett, 1st Lieutenant, 23rd Infantry.
John R. Bailey, A. A. Surgeon, U. S. Army.

1886. William C. Manning, Captain, 23rd Infantry.
George B. Davis, 2nd Lieutenant, 23rd Infantry.

1887. Charles E. Woodruff, 1st Lieutenant, Asst. Surgeon, U. S. Army.

1889. John R. Bailey, A. A. Surgeon, U. S. Army.
Harlan E. McVay, A. A. Surgeon, U. S. Army.

1890. Jacob H. Smith, Captain, 19th Infantry.
Charles T. Witherell, Captain, 19th Infantry.
Edmund D. Smith, 1st Lieutenant, 19th Infantry.

1890. Zebulon B. Vance, jr., 2nd Lieutenant, 19th Infantry.
Woodridge Geary, 2d Lieutenant, 19th Infantry.
Henry G. Learnard, 2nd Lieutenant, 19th Infantry.
Edwin M. Coates, Major, 19th Infantry.
Harlan E. McVay, 1st Lieut., Asst. Surgeon, U. S. Army.

1891. John R. Bailey, A. A. Surgeon, U. S. Army.
Alexander McGuard, Captain, 19th Infantry.
Joseph Frazier, 2nd Lieutenant, 19th Infantry.

1892. Edwin F. Gardner, Captain, Asst. Surgeon, U. S. A.

1892. John R. Bailey, Attending Surgeon.
Edwin F. Gardner, Capt., Asst. Surgeon, U. S. Army,
1893. John Howard, 2nd Lieutenant, 19th Infantry.
James Ronayne, 2nd Lieutenant, 19th Infantry.
1894. Clarence E. Bennett, Major (Brvt. Col. U. S. V.), 19th Infantry.
1894–5. Woodbridge Geary, 1st Lt. (Comd'g Post), 19th Infy.
John R. Bailey, Attending Surgeon.
1895. E. M. Johnson, Jr., 1st Lieut., 19th Infantry.

Fort Mackinac was evacuted by Major Thomas Williams' command, Co. "L," 4th Artillery, October 12th, 1856, and re-garrisoned May 25th, 1857, by Capt. Arnold Elzey (Jones), Co. "E," 2nd Artillery. August 2d the command, and that at Fort Brady, Sault Ste. Marie, all under Capt. Henry C. Pratt, Co. "G," 2nd Artillery, with John R. Bailey, A. A. Surgeon, U. S. Army, were ordered to the scene of Indian hostilities at Fort Snelling, Minnesota. June 6th, 1858, Fort Mackinac re-garrisoned by Capt. Pratt with Co. "G," 2d Artillery, and evacuated April 28th, 1861, by the same officer and command. Re-occupied May 10th, 1862, by Capt. Grover S. Wormer, Co. "A," Stanton Guards, Mich. Vols., who had in charge "Genl. William G. Harding, Genl. Washington Barrows and Judge Joseph C. Guild," "Confederates," prisoners of war. September 10th, 1862, the troops and prisoners were removed to Detroit, and the three state prisoners sent to Johnson's Island, Lake Erie. Re-garrisoned August 3rd, 1866, by the 4th Independent Company V. R. Corps, and that command ordered away August 26th, to be mustered out of service. The fort re-occupied August 22d, 1867, by Co. "B," 43d U. S. Infantry, Capt. (Brevet Col.) John Mitchell (Reed) commanding; and, since then has continued to be garrisoned. The present garrison is a detachment of the 19th U. S. Infantry, under 1st Lieutenant

Woodbridge Geary, with a quartermaster sergeant and twelve men.

The title of the "National Park Bill," setting apart the "Military Reservation and United States lands" on the Island of Mackinac, makes "The Commanding Officer of Fort Mackinac, ex-officio superintendent of said park." During all the periods from 1856, when the troops were absent, the fort was in charge of the late Ordnance Sergeant William Marshall, deceased.

CHURCHES.

The oldest Christian parish on the island is St. Ann's, Roman Catholic, that may be said to date from 1669, or before, Reverend Father James Miller in charge. Presbyterian "Mission" and school dates from 1823, and the "Mission House" and church was subsequently erected; the "Mission Church," now a Union Chapel, is being repaired. "Trinity" parish, formerly "St. Andrews," Protestant Episcopal, dates from 1842; and the church on Fort Street was erected in 1882, mainly through the efforts and with the funds of devoted Christian women of the island and their tourist friends.

MACKINAC ISLAND.—A SUMMER RESORT.

About 1842 a few southern families began making the island a resort. They brought their slaves with them and often remained the entire season, from June until November. Year after year the tourists, who could then only come by water, gradually increased, also the accommodations, by remodeling old buildings, in proportion to the guests.

After "the late unpleasantness," 1861-5, summer travel in-

creased with years of peace and prosperity, railroads (lines before mentioned) projected their roads to both sides of the straits, more steamers were placed in commission, new hotels, boarding houses, and private cottages erected, until finally, the island has become one of the noted and most celebrated of the world's resorts.

From an experience of over forty years in the practice of medicine on Mackinac Island, and vicinity, much of that time as Post Surgeon, Fort Mackinac, we have observed that all cases of debility, and prostration from whatever disease or cause—when the patients are not beyond the hope of recovery—are benefited by the pure bracing air, and often cured. Miasmatic diseases do not exist, and epidemics from purely local causes can hardly occur. At the fort, with an average command of 60 to 80 men (or about 100, women and children, included), there has been for two or three months—at times—in succession, a clean sick report. Few places can show as good a health bill the year round.

Professional and active business men, prostrated by active, mental and physical exertion, and the heat of cities, debilitated women, nursing mothers, and teething children, suffering with diseases peculiar to dentition and hot weather, are often cured as if by magic—under proper management—by the change to this climate. The island and vicinity, from June to November is the place, "par excellance," for the relief of hay-fever and all asthmatic subjects. It is not prudent to bring patients here in the last stages of consumption or wasting thoracic diseases, but cases in the incipient stages are often greatly benefited. As the months of March, April, November and December are variable and subject to extremes of temperature, if this island has any local disease, it is rheumatism and kindred affections, but for such the summer and mid-winter seasons are not objectionable.

It is the days of long continued sunlight, the air, tempered by great inland fresh-water seas, latitude, altitude and position of Mackinac Island, that makes the climate. Summer days, including twilight, are from about 3 A. M., to 9:30 P. M. The whole face of nature has lengthened, daily sunshine, and in consequence, all vegetable and animal life is vigorous and buoyant with circulation. A hop-vine has been known to grow eighteen inches in twenty-four hours, and in May you can watch currant leaves unfolding in your garden.

What to wear: When you come to Mackinac bring your winter garments, wear them, and take in the sun-baths. Your appetite will increase, digestion improve, and nightly, under soft blankets, you will sleep the charming sleep of perfect restfulness.

The extremes of cold and heat are less than in that same latitude east and west, and some places far to the south.

Monthly mean and extreme temperature for a series of twenty-four years, taken from Meteorological Records, Fahrenheit thermometer, are: June, 57°; July, 65°; August, 64°; September, 55°; October, 45°; November, 34°; December, 23°; January, 19°; February, 18°; March, 26°; April, 37°; May, 48°; yearly mean, 41°; minimum, –23°; maximum, 90°. Annual rainfall, 28 inches.

At Sault Ste. Marie, not a degree north, minimum has been –55° in Feburary (when –29° here); maximum, 95° to 100°; Montreal, –36° to 102°; St. Paul, less than a degree south, minimum, –56°; maximum, 103°; St. Louis, Mo., minimum, –25°; maximum, 108°. We have only once, during a residenee of 43 years, seen the minimum here, –29°, and maximum never above 90°.

ALTITUDES.

The following table of altitudes is from Winchell's Geological Reports and Lake Surveys.

Lake Huron and Michigan above sea	feet 581.3
Fort Mackinac, parade ground, above lake	133
Fort Mackinac, upper level, above lake	150
Principal plateau of Mackinac Island above lake	150
Upper plateau of Mackinac Island above lake	294
Fort Holmes above lake	318
Sugar Loaf Rock, summit, above lake	284
Arch Rock, top of arch, above lake	140
Arch Rock, summit, above lake	149
Arch Rock, buttress, top of, facing lake, above lake	105
Robertson's Folly	127
Lover's Leap, above lake	145
Lake Superior, above sea	601.3

ACTS OF CONGRESS FOR MACKINAC ISLAND.

At the suggestion of Dr. John R. Bailey, and through the influence of Senator Thomas W. Ferry, who introduced the bill, the "Indian Dormitory," a part of the military reservation, 0.46 acres, between the fort gardens (the building and grounds enclosed), was ceded, by Act of Congress, in 1870 to Union School District No. 1, Township of Holmes, Mackinac Island; "For educational purposes only, and, if ever converted to other uses, it shall revert to the government."

Four other bills passed, Acts of Congress, were proposed by Dr. Bailey—three were introduced by Senator Ferry, the last by Senator O. D. Conger and Rep. Breitung. The first was the "Mackinac Island National Park" Bill (passed March 3rd, 1875)—two were of a private nature—and the fourth the "Bois Blanc Island" Bill; in "An Act to provide for the disposal of abandoned and useless Military Reservations." * * * * Sec. 3. * * * * * * *

"And provided further, the proceeds of the military res-

ervation lands sold to Bois Blanc Island near to Fort Mackinac military reservation shall be set apart as a separate fund for the improvement of the National Park on the Island of Mackinac, Michigan, under the direction of the Secretary of War," passed, 1884.

The following provision in the "Sundry Civil Bill," was introduced by Senator McMillan, at the suggestion of the Secretary of War, and passed at the close of the last session of Congress, March 3rd, 1895."

"165. Military Reservation on Mackinac Island, Michigan. The Secretary of War is hereby authorized on the application of the Governor of Michigan, to turn over to the State of Michigan, for use as a State Park, and for no other purpose, the military reservation and buildings, and the land of the National Park on Mackinac Island, Michigan; Provided that whenever the state ceases to use the land for the purpose aforesaid, it shall revert to the United States." The measure is, now before the State Legislature. If Michigan proposes to set up alone in the kingdom business she wants this key to the waterways, but if not it may be well for the U. S. to "hold the fort."

If under the French and British regime and with the United States, up to the present time, the possession of the Island of Mackinac and its fortification, has been deemed so important, why should a continuance of its occupation be, all at once, considered useless? A strategic point once selected, on any commercial highway, must, so long as there is a necessity for an army and navy for foreign or local defense, always remain. More vessels of every class, with a greater tonnage and larger value, annually pass through these straits and, by ferry, across them, than in any channel in the known world. Assuming there is no longer danger from Great Britain, simply because that nation never considers it policy

to attack an equal or a stronger power, unless she finds it divided or crippled by internal strife, that reason is not conclusive. Suppose, in times of peace and fancied security, there should arise an insurrection, riot, rebellion, or a band of robbers invade these channels in an armed vessel, and any of said parties hold the position for two or three days, or less time, interrupt navigation and stop the railway ferries. They could destroy floating property and lives, levy contributions and interrupt railroad connections, that would cost this government more than it would to hold the fort a hundred years. A small garrison, with two or three properly mounted "disappearing" modern guns, and gunboat well armed to rendezvous in the harbor and patrol the waters, would be ample security, at comparatively little cost.

MACKINAC ISLAND.

Hon. Henry R. Schoolcraft, Indian Agent from 1833 to 1841, and author, writes, after a visit to Mackinac Island in 1820:

"Nothing can exceed the beauty of this island. It is a mass of calcareous rock, rising from the bed of Lake Huron, and reaching an elevation of more than three hundred feet above the water. The waters around it are purity itself. Some of its cliffs shoot up perpendicularly, and tower in pinacles, like ruinous gothic steeples. It is cavernous in some places; and in these caverns the ancient Indians, like those of India, have placed their dead. Portions of the beach are level, and adapted to loading from boats and canoes. The harbor at its south end is a little gem. Vessels anchor in it

SUGAR-LOAF ROCK, MACKINAC ISLAND.

and find good holding. The little old-fashioned French town nestles around it in a very primitive style. The fort frowns above it, like another Alhambra, its white walls gleaming in the sun. The whole area of the island is one labyrinth of curious little glens and valleys. Old green fields appear, in some spots, which have been formerly cultivated by the Indians. In some of these are circles of gathered-up stones, as if the Druids themselves had dwelt here. The soil, though rough, is fertile, being the comminuted materials of broken-down limestones. The island was formerly covered with a dense growth of rock-maples, oaks, iron-wood, and other hard-wood species; and there are still parts of this ancient forest left, but all the southern limits of it exhibit a young growth. There are walks and winding paths among its little hills, and precipices of the most romantic character. And whenever the visitor gets on eminences overlooking the lake, he is transported with sublime views of a most ilimitable and magnificent water-prospect. If the poetic muses are ever to have a new Parnassus in America they should inevitably fix on Michilimackinac. Hygeia, too, should place her temple here; for it has one of the purest, driest, clearest, and most healthful atmospheres."

Geologically speaking, too, the island is interesting and instructive. It appears to be a confused mass of corniferous limestone, 250 or more feet in thickness, in places the strata, well defined but broken, and tilted at various angles, and at its base are the rocks of the Onondaga salt group. Prof. Winchell writes:

"The well-characterized limestones of the Upper Helderberg group, to the thickness of two hundred and fifty feet, exist in a confusedly brecciated condition. The individual fragments of the mass are angular, and seem to have been but little moved from their original places. It appears as if

the whole formation had been shattered by sudden vibrations and unequal uplifts, and afterward a thin calcareous mud poured over the broken mass, percolating through all the interstices, and re-cementing the fragments.

"This is the general physical character of the mass; but in many places the original lines of stratification can be traced, and individual layers of the formation can be seen dipping at various angles and in all directions, sometimes exhibiting abrupt flexures, and not infrequently a complete downthrow of fifteen or twenty feet. These phenomena were particularly noticed at the cliff known as 'Robertson's Folly.'

"In the highest part of the island, back of Old Fort Holmes, the formation is much less brecciated, and exhibits an oolitic character, as first observed in the township of Bedford, in Monroe county.....

"The island of Mackinac shows the most indubitable evidence of the former prevalence of the water to the height of two hundred and fifty feet above the present level of the lake; and there has been an unbroken continuance of the same kind of aqueous action from that time during the gradual subsidence of the waters to their present condition. No break can be detected in the evidences of this action from the present water-line upward for thirty, fifty, or one hundred feet, and even up to the level of the grottoes excavated in the brecciated materials of 'Sugar-loaf,' the level of 'Skull Cave,' and the 'Devil's Kitchen.'

"While we state the fact, however, of the continuity of the action during all this period, it is not intended to allege that the water of the lakes, as such, has ever stood at the level of the summit of Sugar-loaf. Nor do we speak upon the question whether these changes have been caused by the subsidence of the lakes, or the uplift of the island and adjacent promontories. It is true that the facts presented

bear upon these and other interesting questions; but we must forego any discussion of them."

Professor Winchell believed there had been some elevation of the island and surrounding land, but more subsidence of the waters: "much of which was probably effected during the prevalence of the continental glacial, and much during the time of floods following, and the action of the sea while the region was submerged."

The grand feature of the island formation is the "Arch Rock," in the bluff, on the eastern face.

The following parody on a popular song was found, in 1865, written on a stone, placed on a water-worn shelf near the base of the arch. It was published in Van Fleet's "Old and New Mackinac" (out of print) in "1870":

"Beauteous Isle! I sing of thee,
Mackinac, my Mackinac;
Thy lake-bound shores I love to see,
Mackinac, my Mackinac,
From Arch Rock's height and shelving steep
To western cliffs and Lover's Leap,
Where memories of the lost one sleep,
Mackinac, my Mackinac.

Thy northern shore trod British foe,
Mackinac, my Mackinac,
That day saw gallant Holme's laid low,
Mackinac, my Mackinac.
Now Freedom's flag above thee waves,
And guards the rest of fallen braves,
Their requiem sung by Huron's waves,
Mackinac, my Mackinac."

Summit of arch rock above lake level 149 feet. Foster and Whitney mention the Arch and Sugar-Loaf Rocks, "as particular examples of denuding action."

"The portion supporting the arch on the north side, and the curve of the arch itself, are comparatively fragile, and can not for a long period resist the action of rains and frosts, which, in this latitude, and on a rock thus constituted, produce great ravages every season. The arch, which on one

side now connects this abutment with the main cliff, will soon be destroyed, as well as the abutment itself, and the whole be precipitated into the lake."

ARCH ROCK.

Gleaned from "The Highest Old Shore Line on Mackinac Island, by F. B. Taylor, 1892.

"All the lower levels of Mackinac show plain evidence of past glacial action. The modern beach is composed

almost entirely of limestone pebbles which are generally well rounded." The beach on which the village is built, from the water to an altitude of forty-five or fifty feet, is of the same material.

"Lost glacial submergence is more plainly marked from the 170 foot plain where there is a well developed beach ridge, and four others, up to 205 feet, about the base of Fort Holmes hill. Facing the N. E. cliffs of Fort Holmes ("island"), the beach lines are all wanting but the 170 foot ridge. The surface of the island is well sprinkled with bowlders, many erratics, of northern origin, their exposed surfaces strongly weathered. There are no bowlders with glacial scratches below the 205 foot level.

"Then the real 'Ancient Island,' three-quarters of a mile long and less than half as wide, its longer axis northwest and southeast, the highest point, covered by the British earthwork, is the Fort Holmes plateau. It is covered with drift, the bowlders and pebbles striated. The fort embankment, surrounded by a ditch five or six feet deep, is most entirely bowlder clay mixed with striated bowlders and pebbles.

"All the main land, north and south, was submerged when the summit of the Island of Michilimackinac ('Pequod-e-nonge') was a dot in the waters. We leave the rest to the reader for deeper study, theories and conjecture."

"Ye call these red-browed brethren
The insects of the hour,
Crushed like the noteless worm amid
The regions of their power;
Ye drive them from their fathers' lands,
Ye break the faith, the seal;
But can ye from the court of Heaven
Exclude their last appeal."

MACKINAC ISLAND STATE PARK.

PUBLIC ACTS, MICHIGAN, REGULAR SESSION, 1895, PAGES 514, 515.

[No. 222.]

AN ACT to provide for the appointment of a board of commissioners who shall have the management and control of the Mackinac Island State Park, and defining its powers and duties.

SECTION 1. *The People of the State of Michigan enact:* That, pursuant to an act of congress authorizing the Secretary of War, on the application of the Governor of the State of Michigan, to turn over to the State of Michigan for use as a state park, and for no other purpose, the military reservation and buildings and the lands of the national park on Mackinac Island, Michigan. *Provided*, that whenever the State ceases to use the lands for the purposes aforesaid, it shall revert to the United States; the Governor be and he is hereby authorized and directed to make application to the Secretary of War, as aforesaid; and that upon the turning over to the State of Michigan of said military reservation and the buildings and the lands of the national park on Mackinac Island, the same shall thereafter be known as the "Mackinac Island State Park."

SEC. 2. *Provides:* Within thirty days, appointment by the Governor, with the Senate's consent, of a board of five commissioners, citizens of the State, to serve, respectively, two, four, six, eight and ten years; also, the Governor to be ex-officio, a member. Commissioners serve without compensation, but may receive actual expenses out of the park fund, for not exceeding one week in each year. Governor to fill vacancies.

SEC. 3. *Provides:* Commission can lay out, control and manage park, employ and pay a superintendent, but debts and obligations can not exceed the funds on hand, Commissioners can designate one or more employes to act as deputy sheriffs of Mackinac County, with sheriff's approval, without pay or compensation as

such. Commissioners report to Governor annually receipts and expenditures, and recommend and suggest as may seem proper.

SEC. 4. *Provides:* Superintendent shall see "that the United States flag is kept floating from the flag staff at Fort Mackinac" under rules governing when the fort was occupied "by the United States troops." Approved May 31st, 1895.

MACKINAC ISLAND STATE PARK COMMISSION.

Within the required thirty days Governor Rich appointed five Commissioners to serve from June 21st, 1895. Commission:

Hon. John T. Rich, Governor, (Ex officio.)

Thomas W. Ferry, Grand Haven, 2 years, term expires, June 21st, 1897, President.

Wm. M. Clark, Lansing, 4 years, term expires, June 21st, 1899, Secretary.

Peter White, Marquette, 6 years, term expires, June 21st, 1901, Vice-President.

George T. Arnold, Mackinac Island, 8 years, term expires, June 21st, 1903, Acting Superintendent.

Albert L. Stephens, Detroit, 10 years, term expires, June 21st, 1905, Treasurer.

Commission met at the Grand Hotel, Mackinac Island, July 11th, 1895, elected officers, and adopted rules for the park. Subsequently the Governor accepted the park for the State of Michigan from the Secretary of War.

The detachment of troops vacated the fort Sept. 16th, 1895, and embarked for Sault Ste. Marie, and 1st Lieutenant Woodbridge Geary, U. S. Army, commanding, (ex officio superintendent,) turned the fort and Park over to George T. Arnold, Acting Superintendent of Mackinac Island State Park. In conclusion, the fort on the Straits of Michilimackinac has been in three locations: Fort Michilimackinac (St. Ignace) North Peninsula, 1673, Fort Michilimackinac (Old Mackinaw) South Peninsula, *1721–80, Fort Mackinac, Michilimackinac Island, 1780.

Michilimackinac† was the official distinctive title of an extensive territory or province of New France and the name was not local nor confined to the Island of "Michili-Mackina c," where it originated, as many suppose.

* Exact time of occupation not determined.
† See pp. 24–28, 30, 83, 190.

MACKINAC ISLAND HOTELS.

	Capacity		Capacity
The Grand	1,000	Lake View	100
Island House	300	New Chicago	90
Astor House	300	Bennett Hall	90
Mission House	250	Brunswick	75
New Mackinac	250	Palmer House	50
New Murray	200	Lozon House	50
The Rectory	25		

SAINT IGNACE.

Sherwood House	150	Russell House	50
Dunham	25		

LES CHENEAUX.

Les Cheneaux	100	Pennsylvania	50
Les Cheneaux Club	150	Lake Side	30
Islington	150		

STEAMBOAT LINES TO MACKINAC ISLAND.

"D. & C." Steam Navigation Company.
Lake Michigan & Lake Superior St. Co.
Grummond Mackinac Line.
N. M. T. Co.
Hart S. Line.
N. Steamship Co. (Hill's.)
Anchor Line.
N. S. N. Co.
Great N. Transit Co.
C. P. Steam S. Co.
Island Transp. Co. (Algoma.)
Arnold Line Steamers (for Cheboygan, Sault Ste. Marie, St. Ignace and Les Cheneaux).
Ferry, St. Ignace and Mackinac Island.
Inland Route Navigation Co.
Webb Transp. Co.
U. S. and Dominion Transp. Co
Also tramp or wild steamers and many private yachts.

ROADS AND PATHS ON MACKINAC ISLAND.

Steamers landing from twenty to forty per day.

When you land at Mackinac Island, by lake steamers or by the steam ferries that connect with the M. C. G. R. & I.,

D., S. S. & A., and Minneapolis, St. Paul & Sault Ste. Marie R. Rs., face to the front, with the town and fort before you. The road through the center of the island leads from the fort to Fort Holmes, Skull Cave, Cemeteries, Dousman's Farm ("Farley's"), Battle Field, British Landing and Scott's Cave. Roads to the right (eastward) to east end, Robertson's Folly, Giants Stairway, Fairy Arch, Arch Rock, Sugar Loaf Rock, and Leslie avenue into the British Landing road. Roads to the left (westward) to Grand Hotel, "West End," Wacheo, ("Hubbard's Annex"), Lover's Leap, Chimney Rock, and Lover's Lane, and Cupid's Pathway, into the British Landing road. Consult Outline Map of Mackinac Island. You cannot get lost, if attentive to directions, but if you do it will be only a charming temporary novelty.

1897, May 5. Thomas W. Ferry, Park Commissioner, died October 14, 1896; Edward W. Lowe was appointed to fill vacancy. May 5, 1897, Gov. Pingree appointed C. R. Miller for term of 1897-99.

Michigan Legislature passed March 31st, Joint Resolution 14, to provide for restoring Fort Mackinac to the United States, authorizing Mackinac Island State Park Commission to transfer the Fort and Military Reservation (103.41 acres) to the United States whenever the Secretary of War notifies the Commission it is desired for military occupation.

WHAT A BRITISH COMMANDER THOUGHT.

Excerpt letter. "R^t. McDonall, Lt. Col. Commanding Michilimackinac and Dependencies, 2d May, 1815." Bulger Papers, 1815, Wis. Hist. Coll., Vol XIII, p. 143.

"My Dear Bulger:— * * * Our negociators * * * have shown themselves profoundly ignorant of the concerns of this part of the Empire. I am prostrated with grief at the restoration of this fine island—a fortress built by nature for herself."

Last fall, a lake shore "Beach Boulevard" $7\frac{1560}{2280}$ miles from Borough Lot to Mission Park was projected, and section from Grand Hotel to British landing, 15,100 feet, completed. About $5,000 will construct the north and east sides. This boulevard, when finished, will be a driveway that can be nowhere excelled for novelty, variety and scenic effect—another charm to nature's Fairy Isle.

FINIS.

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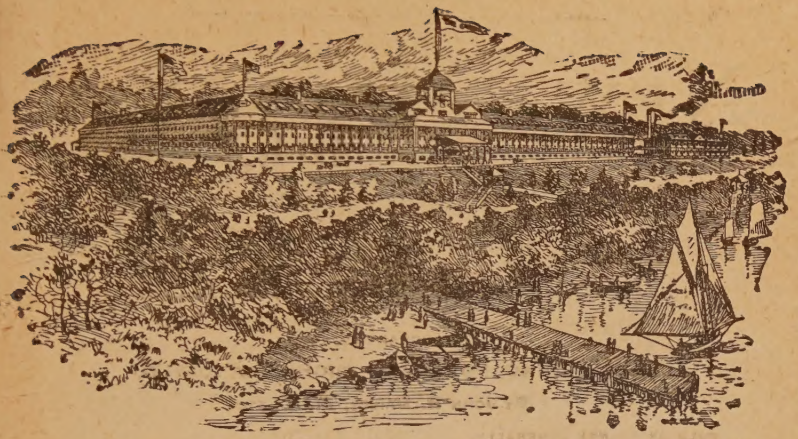

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Michilimackinac

1681 - French officially Comm

1761 - British

1796 - U.S. & Brit. retired to St Joseph

1812 - British

1815 - U.S. & Brit. retired to Drummond

1673 - 1720 - Fort - north Shore

1714 or 1721 - 1781 & Mission - South Shore

1780 - 1895 do - Island.

1796 - Americans took over Detroit from British.

1828 do Drummond Island & the garrison & Voyageurs removed to Penetanguishene